

THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW

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- Art. I. 1. *The Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews: an Inquiry, in which the received Title of the Greek Epistle is vindicated against the Cavils of Objectors, Ancient and Modern, from Origen to Sir J. D. Michaelis, chiefly upon grounds of Internal Evidence hitherto unnoticed; comprising a Comparative Analysis of the Style and Structure of this Epistle, and of the undisputed Epistles of St. Paul, tending to throw light on their interpretation.* By the Rev. Charles Forster, B. D., &c. &c. London.
2. *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, by Dr. A. Tholuck, Consistorial Counsellor and Professor of Theology in the University of Halle.* Translated from the German by James Hamilton, M.A., Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Durham. With an Appendix, comprising two Dissertations, by the same author, translated by J. E. Ryland, Esq. 2 vols. 1842. [Clark's Biblical Cabinet, volumes 38 and 39.]
3. *Opuscula Theologica ad crisin et interpretationem Novi Testamenti pertinentia. Auctore, Dr. Hermann Olshausen, Theol. Prof. P. O. in Academia Regiomontana.* Berolini. 1834. [Opuscc. III. IV., De auctore epistolæ ad Hebræos.]

FRUITLESS as such a wish must be, we doubt not that there have been in every age, excepting perhaps those in which the stream of sacred learning, scanty and impure, ran underground, persons who have desired that there were as direct and summary a method of authenticating the inspired books of our religion, as there is, to those who recognise a written revelation, of establishing the divine authority of its particular doctrines. Let, for instance, the doctrine of vicarious atonement be questioned, and an appeal to Rom. iii. 21, 28, or iv. 25, or 1 Peter ii. 21, 24, or any one of those passages, will be sufficient to convince any man of its divine authority who regards the epistles containing them as an integral part of the authoritative rule of

Christian faith and duty. The inquiry is a simple one. The proper, and indeed sole necessary test of the divine authority of doctrine is the sense of the inspired Scriptures; a sense which, though occasionally difficult to ascertain as respects particular passages, is, in the aggregate, clear, convincing, and satisfactory. To this simple and ready test, therefore, every doctrine for which Christ's authority is claimed, may and must be brought; and however exceptions may be multiplied against particular proofs, the method of proof remains unquestioned and unquestionable. The case is not, however, quite so simple when the authority of a canonical book is disputed. To settle this we must take a position exterior not only to the book excepted against, but to the whole body of the Christian Scriptures; for the argument is not comprised in any testimonies alleged by them, but is a problem, the solution of which, on scientific grounds, invariably requires an accurate investigation of historical facts, and in some instances the careful consideration of the moral bearing of such facts, as increasing or diminishing the probability on either side of the question.

As it may appear to some of our readers that although the principle is admissible and safe that no separate portion of the Christian Scriptures can satisfactorily authenticate itself, it is going too far to maintain that it may not be authenticated by other portions, it will be worth our while, especially as it can be done in very brief space, to show how this matter stands in point of fact. We admit, of course, the general confirmation rendered by all the canonical books of Scripture to each other in the substantial harmony of their doctrinal and other contents; but this is not the question we are now considering. The most express testimonies rendered in any New Testament writing to other writings are, that in Acts i. 1, to a former treatise of the author concerning what Jesus had done and taught until the day in which he was taken up, and that in 2 Peter iii. 15, 16, to certain letters of the Apostle Paul. But it is the merest reference, or nearly so, which is afforded in both cases; and though we have, it is true, a Gospel history, ascribed by succeeding writers to the person to whom they also ascribe the book of 'Acts,' and several epistles bearing the name of Paul, and so far harmonizing with the allusive hints contained in Peter's reference, that they contain statements concerning the end of the world and the judgment, with 'some things hard to be understood, which those that are unlearned and unstable wrest, *as they do the other Scriptures*, to their own destruction,' there is really nothing in either case whereby these writings may be identified; no quotation, nor any descriptive allusion, which would not have served equally well to identify either of the other three Gospels,



had Luke's name—the accredited author of the 'Acts'—been attached to it, or Peter's own first epistle, or James's, had they come down to us as Paul's. There is, then, this most important difference between the authentication of Luke's Gospel by the book of Acts, or that of any of Paul's epistles by the second Epistle of Peter, and the authentication of any doctrine which the book of Acts, or the last-mentioned epistle, may exhibit; that to ascertain what the doctrine is, we need not consult any other document than that in which it is contained; whereas, to discover what writing is referred to, we are driven, of necessity, to an examination not only of the writing, but of all the circumstances, external and internal, which may be advanced in support of its genuineness. These testimonies, therefore, as credentials of other particular writings, amount to nothing, because they are detached from the documents which they attest. Even to Theophilus, the reference in Acts would only serve to authenticate Luke's Gospel, on the supposition that the latter had been conveyed less directly to him than the former, or exhibited in style, or penmanship, or some other inward feature, less decisive evidence of its author. So, even the 'strangers of the dispersion' could not have known exactly what epistles Peter meant, unless they had been in possession of some (addressed to themselves?), and known either that Peter was acquainted with the fact of that possession, or, (which of course implies other communications between them and the Apostle,) that he had previously designated certain of Paul's epistles in the same terms. This proves that even the parties first addressed required some authentication of the writings referred to, besides that afforded in the references; or rather, that they had previously received the writings on their own independent, internal and external pretensions. But in these later times the separation between the writings and the testimonies is so entire, that a much wider circle of independent testimony has to be traversed. Indeed, nothing short of the evidence which would establish the authority of these writings without the references, will suffice to show that they are the writings intended; and even then we receive that identification only as an inference from that evidence, and but a probable one after all, at least in Paul's case, because we cannot be sure that he did not write some other epistle, or epistles, expressly to those dispersed brethren as such, but which, by divine permission, perished, as no longer necessary, with the particular class of primitive believers for whose use they were immediately intended.

We see, then, that the difference between the authentication of doctrine and that of writings by biblical testimonies is clearly established; that the latter is a much more complex process than the former; and that in point of fact we must be in pos-

session of much more evidence than the whole New Testament canon can supply upon the subject, in order to ascertain the genuineness and authority of any single writing of that canon. But let not any thing which we have said respecting the indirectness or complexity of the evidence required lead any of our readers to imagine that it is insecure or unsatisfactory. The very contrary is the case, as we hope to show. Nay, we think that it will not be difficult to prove that, in the methods to which we are obliged to have recourse to authenticate the inspired documents of our religion, we see another, added to the many previous proofs, of the wisdom and the goodness of its Author.

The evidence which is required to authenticate the sacred books of Christianity is substantially the same as that which other writings require for the same end. Professedly the production of men supernaturally inspired, and whose possession of extraordinary powers is attested by the voice of even profane history, the principal question after all respects their genuineness; and this, to use the language of Paley, (whose statements, though relating principally to the gospels, are applicable, as far as we shall apply them, to the New Testament scriptures in general,) is made up 'by citations from them in writing belonging to a period immediately contiguous to that in which they were published; by the distinguished regard paid by early Christians to their authority, (which regard was manifested by their collecting of them into a volume, appropriating to that volume titles of peculiar respect, translating them into various languages [\*], writing commentaries upon them, and still more conspicuously, by the reading of them in their public assemblies in all parts of the world); by an universal agreement with respect to [nearly all] these books, whilst doubts were entertained concerning some [few]; by contending sects appealing to them [†]; by many

\* Dr. Paley, from whose admirable recapitulation ('Evidences,' Pt. I, prop. i. ch. 10,) we have taken the above condensed view of the *external* proofs of genuineness, having, in subserviency to the historical argument of his work, the Gospels principally in view, has very properly noticed some marks of respect paid to them which do not apply to the other books. Thus, where the brackets occur to which the present note is attached, he has mentioned the 'digesting of the Gospels into harmonies,' and the following note respects another instance of the same kind.

† Paley here inserts: 'By the early adversaries of the religion not disputing their genuineness, but, on the contrary, treating them as the depositaries of the history upon which the religion was founded.' This remark of course applies particularly to the gospels, which are referred to by CELSUS [circa A.D. 180] in numerous passages of his work, *Ἀληθῆς λόγος* as quoted by Origen in his work 'contra Celsum,' libb. i. §§ 28, 40, 67; ii. §§ 13, 16, 24, 27, 31, 32, 36, 37, 49, 59, 74; v. § 52; vi. §§ 16, 34, 36, 37; vii. §§ 18, 25, 58, 70; viii. §§ 2, 7; and by PORPHYRY [born A.D. 233, dec. A.D. 270] as represented by Jerome, Quæst. in Gen. i. 10; in Matt. iii. 3; ix. 9; and contr.

formal catalogues of them, as of certain and authoritative writings, published in different and distant parts of the Christian world; lastly, by the absence or defect of the above cited topics of evidence, when applied to any other writings.' Dr. Paley justly adds: 'These are strong arguments to prove that the books actually proceeded from the authors whose names they bear.'

Powerful, however, as this kind of argument is, it is not all. The fulness of evidence is then only realized when the relation of the writing to its reputed author, his history, peculiarities of character or authorship, and the circumstances of his age and connections, has been duly investigated, and the requisite agreement ascertained. Many successful and instructive instances of such investigation occur in Paley's other well known work, the *Horæ Paulinæ*; although the object of it was not so much to establish the genuineness of the apostle's writings as the truth of the scripture account of him. A most distinguished specimen of this species of argument is also exhibited in Prof. Heinrich Planck's defence of the genuineness of Paul's 1st Epistle to Timothy, against the subtle but arbitrary exceptions of Schleiermacher. And we may refer to the same class the work of Mr. Forster, whose title is given at the head of this article, and in which the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews is vindicated at great length, chiefly on literary grounds:—the evidence of identity of diction, style, manner, and quotation, in it and those epistles to which Paul's name is prefixed.

While, however, as above observed, internal evidence comes powerfully in aid of external testimony, it can seldom be regarded as satisfactory alone. If the genuineness of a work be investigated at any considerable interval after the alleged date of its composition, external testimonies are the surest vouchers by which it can be traced up to its professed era. It is not so easy to interpolate quotations from it into the writings of a later age, as it is to forge a work which shall possess many of the features

Pelag. lib. ii. § 17. But the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and probably the Apocalypse, are treated in a similar way by the adversaries of the Christian religion, as the following references will show. By CELSUS, Origen, *op. cit.* libb. v. 64; vi. 12; viii. 24; by PORPHYRY in Jerome's Com. in Joel, ii. 28; Isa. liii. 12; and Proem. in Gal. So also Chrysostom, says Dr. Flatt, (quoting Hom. 6, in Ep. i. ad Cor.) appeals to Celsus and Porphyry for the antiquity of the New Testament Scriptures.' See Storrs and Flatt's *Bible Theology*, translated by Schumcker, Book I. part i. § 1, in which work, and in Hug's Introduction to the New Testament, Fosdick's Translation, pp. 31, et seq., some of the above-mentioned instances are illustrated. Some valuable additions to the instances given in Paley's *Evidences* in support of his assertion respecting the use made of the sacred books by contending sects will also be found in Hug's Introduction, pp. 33—64.



of a former age, and even many of the peculiarities of a particular writer. It was, doubtless, this consideration which caused Paley to lay such stress upon the absence of design in the coincidences between the Book of Acts and Paul's Epistles, which forms the principle of his argument in the *Horæ Paulinæ*.

By the searching investigation, therefore, of external testimonies and internal indications conjointly, the genuineness of every professedly inspired writing must be decided; and we do not hesitate to say, that there is no other mode of proof which is so available, so satisfactory, or accompanied with so much accessory benefit to the inquirer as this. No other, indeed, is possible, without a perpetual repetition of miracles, the necessary result of which would be to detract from the value of inspiration as the *distinguishing* excellence of a written revelation, far more than would be added to it in the way of evidence. For suppose that the divine authority of *every* New Testament scripture were attested by vision, or in any other miraculous way, to *every* inquirer, (and if not a universal attestation, then some, or one, at least, must receive them on the authority of his fellow-men), is there any reason to believe that such miracles would in reality be more effectual of themselves to convince gainsayers, than the miracles of our Lord and his apostles were to convince the enemies of the truth in their day who resisted evidence which they durst not deny\*? We raise no question, though we think one might very fairly be raised, respecting the strong antecedent improbability of the very idea of inspiration, *as mere fact*, being vouched for by inspiration. But would not such a form of evidence immediately and necessarily make inspiration cheap? Would it not, in so doing, depreciate the most distinguishing credential of revelation? And parried and resisted, as of course it would be, by the multifarious obliquities and gross darkness of the carnal mind, would its direct bearing on Christian apologetics be aught other than to change the form of the controversy? The cavils of our Lord's age would be incessantly renewed in ours, by the assertion of a Satanic inspiration, while every unrenewed man would find in his own bosom and in his own life the strongest inducements to falsify the evidence afforded him, by obliterating all distinction between the works of the devil and the power of God.

The mischief, however, would not end here. If men were the

\* 'And the Scribes which came down from Jerusalem said: 'He hath Beelzebub, and by the prince of the devils casteth he out devils.' Mark iii. 31. 'What shall we do to these men, for that indeed a notable miracle hath been done by them is manifest to all them that dwell in Jerusalem, and we cannot deny it. But that it spread no further among the people, let us straitly threaten them that they speak henceforth to no man in this name.' Acts iv. 16, 17.

subjects of a special revelation, on this matter, which they need not verify to others by personal miracles, what should hinder them, under such circumstances, from asserting a special revelation upon other topics? The great safeguard being withdrawn, a door is open to every monstrosity; every man might, without fear of human conviction, be a new *avatar* of Simon Magus; and, the deceivableness of unrighteousness, which has rolled in a pretty full stream in the subterranean channels of papal Rome, would, long ere this, without some special but undiscovered method of suppression on the part of providence, have swamped the entire church of the Redeemer in one terrific deluge.

We have thus attempted, at a length which some may consider unnecessary, to exhibit and justify the mode of authenticating revelation to future ages, which it has been the will of Providence to adopt, as it stands opposed to another mode which timid ignorance, inconsiderate zeal, or an enthusiastic fancy, might have preferred. We have been thus full, on account of the bearing which our argument has on the great question of the volumes which are now on our table. Mr. Forster has justly characterised the controversy respecting the authorship of the epistle to the Hebrews, as 'the most important open question connected with the canon of the New Testament.' By many critics it is also considered, perhaps with equal correctness, that it is one of the most difficult. It is, certainly, difficult enough to have occasioned great diversity of sentiment, and that in various ages of the church. Some exposition, therefore, and justification of the process of investigation to which it is necessary strictly to adhere, cannot be out of place. We shall only observe in addition, before passing to our more immediate subject, that it is at least natural that we should have the same method of authenticating inspired authorship as that which is not inspired; that the experience which is obtained in investigations of the latter class, tells powerfully in questions of the former; and that the incidental benefit connected with the study and understanding of the inspired scriptures, which accrues from the present natural method of investigating their authority, is absolutely incalculable.

The inquiries which it has been found necessary to institute concerning the Epistle to the Hebrews, differ, in some important respects, from those affecting the other canonical epistles. With the single exception of the first Epistle of John, all the epistles advanced for themselves their claim to be received as the production of some one or other of the inspired apostles; who were either expressly named in them, as is the case in thirteen Epistles of Paul, one of James, two of Peter, and one of Jude, or designated by a suitable and well-known appellation, as in the

two private epistles of John. In John's first epistle, however, and in that to the Hebrews, no author's name is given, and there is no passage which can be said to indicate, in any other way than by probable allusion, who the author was. The authority of these epistles therefore is not, like that of the others, dependent on their being shewn to have been written by some one particular person named or designated in them; and the investigation of their authorship does not involve, as in the case of the others, the question of their being forgeries. It might be shown that they were not written, respectively, by John or Paul, or any one inspired writer in particular, and yet that they were probably the productions of some such writer, and properly inserted into the sacred canon. Respecting John's epistle, which, having come down to us without a shadow of doubt respecting its author, suffered indeed a partial and momentary eclipse in our own times, it is beside our present purpose to speak. The argument respecting the canonical authority of the epistle to the Hebrews, as independent of the question of Paul's authorship, has also been discussed in this journal (Third Series, vol. iii. pp. 412—414) at a length which renders it unnecessary that we should resume it here. We shall, therefore, limit our inquiries on this occasion to the authorship of the epistle, and introduce such matter from the works whose titles we have given, as will serve at once to illustrate that subject, and characterise the volumes whence they may be respectively taken.

We shall direct our attention, in the first instance, to the EXTERNAL EVIDENCE concerning the epistle; not staying, however, to discuss at any length the testimony alleged from 2 Peter, iii. 15, or the letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians. The latter was noticed by Eusebius, as proving that the epistle to the Hebrews was not a late production; we think that it proves, also, the apostolic character of the epistle, in which case it implies a strong probability that Paul was its author. For though Paul's name is not once mentioned in connexion with any quotation from it, or any allusion to it, Clement's practice, in this respect, was uniform. He quotes nothing of Paul's as his, except, and that once only, the first Epistle to the Corinthians, a letter addressed to the church to which he is himself writing. Dr. Tholuck, therefore, justly asks—'How came Clement, if the epistle be not Paul's, to make so rich a use of it, while the ecclesiastical writers—as we shall see in reference to the epistle to the Hebrews itself, was the case with Tertullian, and in the West generally—seldom or never quote the non-apostolical writings? Not without reason have those who support Paul's authorship laid great stress upon this fact.' We are unwilling, however, to force any part of the evidence, and accept Clement's testimony



as shewing that the epistle was known to him as an authoritative christian document before the year 96, or perhaps even before the year 70, the date ascribed by Dodwell and Le Clerc to his letter.

The alleged reference in 2 Peter iii. 15 we shall also pass with brief notice; not because the canonical authority of that epistle is sustained by a smaller body of evidence than that which can be produced in favour of the epistle we are now considering; nor, on the other hand, from the idea that the reference deserves no notice in this connexion; but partly on account of the complex exhibition of alleged parallels, and many and minute explanations requisite to make the reference probable; and partly on account of the great uncertainty which invariably attends such comparisons and explanations. So much in arguments of this kind depends upon what is merely accidental in the feelings of the inquirer, or the course of the inquiry, that we lay very little stress on them in ordinary cases. In the present instance, Peter's second epistle refers to one of Paul's, addressed to the strangers of the dispersion in the various provinces of Asia Minor. These were converts from Judaism—so were those to whom the epistle now under consideration was addressed, which, being anonymous, may be the one referred to. But if so, it contains a declaration to the effect that the 'long-suffering of the Lord is salvation;' perhaps, also, it should contain—so at least some think, judging from Peter's context—hints of the new heavens and new earth. The latter hints, as it seems to us, the Epistle to the Hebrews does contain, in chap. xii., v. 26—28. The former seems more questionable. Let that, however, be established, and the propriety of *πρὸς ἑβραίους* as an inscription to the strangers of the dispersion, be conceded, and a fair case is made out; though even then, the question is relevant and perplexing:—did not Paul address the strangers of the dispersion in Asia Minor, though not distinctively as such, in the epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians? We just add, from Tholuck, who thinks that Peter's reference cannot be traced in the Hebrews, that Paulus and Mynster considered that they found it in ch. x. 25. Mr. Forster, who has devoted a whole section of his work to the subject, (Sect. xiv. pp. 625—644,) relies principally on ch. vi. 12, iv. 15, 16, ii. 17, 18, and xii. 24, but attempts to make out a number of other coincidences between Peter's two epistles and that to the Hebrews, in evidence of Peter's knowledge of the epistle. This is *de trop*. To such an argument we should oppose the fact that Peter was informed by the same Spirit as Paul, and for the same objects. Surely nothing further can be necessary to account for the coincidences which occur.

Passing, therefore, these scanty and doubtful testimonies of the first century, let us examine those of the second and third.

The eastern testimonies, properly so called, (i. e. those of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine) are soon stated, being summed up in Jerome's assertion (Epist. ad Dardanum): 'nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam, quæ inscribitur ad Hebræos, non solum ab ecclesiis orientis, sed ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus, quasi Pauli apostoli suscipi.' If this statement should appear to require any qualification as respects the Greek writers, though it is virtually true of them, as we shall see, we must remember Jerome's peculiar opportunities of knowing the state of opinion in the East. His account is, moreover, confirmed by Eusebius of Cæsarea, lib. III. cap. iii., when he says: 'Of Paul there are fourteen [epistles] manifest and well known—*πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφείς*.' For though he adds, 'But yet there are some (i. e., some persons, *τινες*) who reject that to the Hebrews, urging for their opinion, that it is contradicted by the church of the Romans, as not being Paul's,' it is evident that the objectors of whom he speaks were particular writers standing in a nearer connexion with Rome. If these collective testimonies are late, we must remember not only that they are altogether uncontradicted by contrary evidence, but that the little independent evidence which has come down to us is to the same effect. The letter of the synod convened at Antioch in the year 265, against Paul of Samosata, recognizes the Pauline authorship of the epistle.\* And Lardner (Principal Facts, vol. v. p. 258) has pointed out two passages to the same effect in the writings of Methodius of Tyre,† (circa 290.) Per-

\* This letter is given in Mansi, Collectt. Concill. Tom. i. p. 1038; to which we have not access. Dr. Tholuck says respecting it, 'The second testimony, from the writing of the Synod, is equally unquestionable. And from it Bleek also draws this conclusion: *This proves, certainly, that, in Antioch, the Epistle was then generally regarded as written by Paul, so much so, that even from its enemies contradiction had ceased to be apprehended.*' Thol. vol. i. p. 12. In one point, however, Bleek's admission is open to remark. It implies that Paul's authorship had been doubted at Antioch, and had found enemies in the Syrian churches, of which there is not a vestige of proof. On this point we shall be more explicit when we review the oriental testimonies collectively. We regret that we are accidentally prevented from making an independent use of Bleek's work, which is not now in our possession. Our extracts from it are taken either from Tholuck or Olshausen.

† 'In the piece entituled *Convivium Decem Virg. Orat* 10, apud Combefis, p. 96, there occurs this passage: *ἐὶ ὁ νόμος ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀποστολὸν πνευματικὸς, τὰς εἰκόνας ἐμπεριέχων τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν*, [if the law, according to the Apostle, be spiritual, containing the image of good things to come,] and in the same work, p. 116, *μυρίον γὰρ ἔξετε κλέος, εἰν ἀφέλητε νικήσασαι τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ στεφάνους ἑπτα, δι' οὓς ὁ ἄγων ἡμῖν πρόκειται καὶ ἡ πάλη κατὰ τὸν διδάσκαλον Παῦλον*. [For ye shall obtain infinite glory, if, having gained the victory, ye take from her the seven crowns which she wears, the contest and struggle for which things are placed before us by

haps, also, with these testimonies in our view, it is right to consider the reception of the epistle into the Peshito version (circa 150) as a testimony to the same purpose; for, granting that this reception implies, as on the principles before expressed in our notice of Clement's quotations, the recognition of its apostolical authority, we may presume that it was received as a writing of the same apostle, to whom we find it afterwards explicitly ascribed. At the close of the third century, as Hug states, but probably a little later, the writer of the epistle is characterized by James of Nisibis, under whom Ephraem the Syrian studied, as 'the apostle,' or 'the blessed apostle;' and the former of these designations is that under which he is spoken of by Ephraem himself, who was deacon at Edessa in the year 378.

We conceive, then, that the collective testimony of the East, until the time of Eusebius (circa 331) and Jerome (circa 394) is decidedly in favour of the Pauline authorship, there being not a vestige of proof that it was ever questioned in those parts. This was not the case, however, in the West. Its apostolical character was denied at Rome as early as the close of the second century; and even in Alexandria, according to Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* III. xiv. it was asserted by Clement, about the same time, that the epistle, as we have it, was translated by Luke from the Hebrew original of Paul. These are the earliest traces of any disbelief that Paul wrote the Greek epistle which has come down to us; and in estimating the bearing of the different testimonies of Alexandrian and Roman writers, it is of the very highest importance to ascertain whether the doubts which were expressed by any of them had their origin in critical or doctrinal reasons, or were to any extent the result of an earlier tradition to the same effect.

We shall first consider the Alexandrian testimonies—which commence with those of Clement, and of an earlier writer, (supposed to be Pantænus), quoted by him under the designation of the Blessed Presbyter. Both are given by Eusebius in the following terms: 'And he says, that the epistle to the Hebrews is Paul's, and that it was written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language; and that Luke having carefully translated it, published it for the use of the Greeks; which is the reason of that

our teacher Paul.] The former passage Lardner conceives to be an allusion to Heb. x. 1; the latter to xii. 1. With Bleek, we feel constrained to admit this, as respects the latter, though the former, perhaps, is more questionable. The assumption that the writer had in view the Epistle to the Hebrews is supported by the fact of that Father having in other passages undoubtedly made use of it, without formally adding the name of Paul.' *Thol.* vol. i. pp. 11, 12. This, it will be observed, is evidence of the same kind as that alleged in Mr. Forster's fourteenth section lately referred to, only more decided and convincing.



uniformity of style which is found in this epistle and the Acts of the Apostles: but that he did not make use of that inscription, 'Paul the Apostle,' of which he assigns this reason: For, says he, writing to the Hebrews, who had conceived a prejudice against him, and were suspicious of him, he wisely declined uttering his name at the beginning, lest he should offend them. And afterwards he says: Now, as the blessed Presbyter said: Forasmuch as the Lord was sent as the apostle of Almighty God to the Hebrews, Paul, out of modesty, as being sent to the Gentiles, does not style himself the Apostle of the Hebrews; both out of respect to the Lord, and that, being the preacher and apostle of the Gentiles, he over and above wrote to the Hebrews.\* Clement's works contain several other references to this epistle as Paul's; two of which, extracted from his 'Stromata,' lib. ii. and vi., may be found in 'Lardner's Credibility,' Part II. ch. xxii.

Origen habitually ascribes the epistle to Paul, as is abundantly proved by Lardner—'Cred.,' Part II. ch. iii.; but his most important testimony, as given in his 'Homilies on the Epistle,' is preserved by Eusebius, 'Eccl. Hist.,' Book VI., ch. xxv. 'Finally, of the Epistle [inscribed] to the Hebrews, in his homilies upon it, he gives his opinion in this manner: 'The style of the Epistle to the Hebrews has not the Apostle's rudeness of speech, who has confessed himself rude in speech, that is in language, 2 Cor. xi. 6. But this epistle, as to the texture of the style, is elegant Greek; as every one will allow, who is able to judge of the difference of styles.' Again, he says: 'The sentiments of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged writings of the apostle. This will be assented to by every one who reads the writings of the Apostle with attention.' Afterwards he adds: 'If I was to speak my opinion, I should say, that the sentiments are the Apostle's, but the language and composition of some one who committed to writing the Apostle's sense, and, as it were, reduced into commentaries the things spoken by his master. If, therefore, any church receives this epistle as Paul's, it is to be commended even upon that account, for it is not without reason that the ancients have handed it down as Paul's; but who wrote this epistle God only knows, certainly. But the account come down to us is various; some saying that Clement, who was Bishop of Rome, wrote this epistle; others, that it was Luke, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts.'\*

\* In the several extracts from Eusebius, we have thought it best on the whole to use the version given by Lardner in his great work. The accessibility and the reputation of the work induced us to do this, although his bias against the Pauline origin of the Epistle has rendered his version, in one or two particulars, less favourable to the Epistle than it might with truth have been. It is, however, usually very fair, and far more literal than Mr. Hamil-

Postponing the remarks we have to offer on these testimonies, we pass to those of the Roman Church. Here, also, Eusebius comes to our aid. In Book VI. ch. xx., he writes: 'There is also come into our hands a dialogue [or disputation] of Caius, a most eloquent man, held at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus, with Proculus, a patron of the Cataphrygian heresy; in which, also, reproving the rashness and audaciousness of his adversaries in composing new writings [or Scriptures], he makes mention of but thirteen epistles of the holy Apostle, not reckoning that to the Hebrews with the rest. And indeed to this very time, by some of the Romans, this epistle is not thought to be the Apostle's.' Jerome, also, (*De Viris Illustr.*, cap. 59) has a similar testimony which Lardner has extracted in the same chapter.

In a catalogue of the received New Testament Scriptures, which bears internal evidence of its belonging to the close of the second, or the commencement of the third century, and which having been discovered by Muratori at Milan, is given in his *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 854; not only is the Pauline origin of the epistle denied, but the author describes it as '*apud Alexandrinos Pauli nomine fictam ad hæresin Marcionis.*' It is needless to remark on the absurdity of this assertion, respecting a writing spoken of by Alexandrian writers, as we have seen this epistle to be. It is more to our present purpose to observe, that it was included in the ancient *Itala*, before the time of Caius or this Catalogue, as a canonical book. Now, though this does not prove it to be Paul's, it is certainly important, in relation to the question whether the objections of Caius and the author of the Catalogue resulted from doctrinal prejudices, or were based on earlier tradition.

All that it is necessary to add to the preceding testimonies is, that Irenæus, who died at Lyons in the year 202, but was brought up under Papias, in Asia Minor, and is believed to have been the teacher of Caius, quoted the epistle in his book *περὶ διαλέξεων διαφόρων*, but has avoided the use of it almost entirely in his treatise '*Adversus Hæreses*;' that Tertullian (circa. A.D. 200) in his book *De Pudicitia*, cap. xx., quotes it as the work of Barnabas; but that after the decree of the council of Carthage, which, at the commencement of the fifth century, under Augustine's influence, recognized '*Pauli epistolas tredecim, ejusdem ad Hebræos unam,*' it gradually acquired authority throughout the Roman and African churches.

To estimate these various testimonies rightly, and ascertain

ton's translations, appended as foot notes to the extracts in Tholuck's text. That in which Origen's views are stated would be too free, were there no question depending on the terms of the original. As the matter stands, such a version is almost useless.

their proper bearing on the subject to which they relate, we must investigate their sources, and, as before hinted, discover how far they represent an earlier tradition, or merely express the critical principles or doctrinal prepossessions of their respective authors. On this point there is great diversity of opinion among modern critics; the most distinguished of whom, as Hug, Bleek, and Tholuck, arrive at conclusions differing in several respects from those of the others. Hug, usually a very fair and candid investigator, strains every nerve to shew that there was no historical basis for the opinions of Clement and Origen respecting a Hebrew original of the epistle; and that the objections of Caius, and the Roman and African writers, proceeded entirely from doctrinal difficulties attending its reception. Bleek, on the other hand, always unbiassed by party feeling, but now, as on some other occasions, betrayed by the too obvious objectiveness of his own candour, will have it, that the preponderance of previous tradition, even in the Alexandrian church, was very decidedly adverse to the Pauline authorship. Tholuck, again, with his all-observing, but, too frequently, not all-penetrating intellect, vindicates the view of Hug upon the Alexandrian tradition against the exceptions of Bleek, but disapproves of his position, that the Roman objections are traceable, exclusively, to a doctrinal bias. After some patient consideration of the evidences, we think that Hug, though he mistakes a few particular points, as, e. g., in his treatment of Tertullian's reference to the epistle, is right in the main. We believe, with him and Tholuck, that in the Alexandrian church tradition was in favour of Paul's authorship; that the account to which Origen refers as having come down to him was, probably, not of older date than Clement, and intended little, if anything, more than the different opinions which had been occasioned by the style of the epistle; and that the opposition of Irenæus, Caius, and the Roman and African writers generally to the epistle, was occasioned by the advantages which the cause of the Montanists derived from such passages as Heb. vi. 4, 5, as understood by all the Christian teachers of those times. We think there is great truth in the following representation, from Tholuck's introduction, of the balance of tradition and opinion in the Alexandrian church.

‘Bleek's opinion, that only a community here and there received the Epistle as of Paul, while the general tradition of its reception was in the highest degree unfavourable, is, as we conceive, completely proved to be erroneous by two other passages of Origen, in which he speaks of doubts entertained as to its composition by the Apostle. In Matt. xxiii. 27, he makes use of this expression: *pone aliquem abdicare* Epistolam ad Hebræos quasi non Pauli; and in the Epistle, ad Afric. c. 9, he says,



ἀλλ' εἰκός τινα θλιβόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς ταῦτα ἀποδείξεως (by Heb. xi. 37, confirming the apocryphal fact of Isaiah's being sawn asunder) συγχρήσασθαι τῷ βουλήματι τῶν ἀξετούντων τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς οὐ Παύλῳ γεγραμμένην, πρὸς ὃν ἄλλων λόγων κατ' ἰδίαν χρῆζομεν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ εἶναι Παύλου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν\*. Can any one persuade himself that Origen would have so spoken concerning the doubts of Paul being its author, had these doubts been founded on historical grounds, and spread through all the congregations? Do not these passages very distinctly indicate the doubts as those of individuals, springing, as they did, in the mind of Origen himself, from internal difficulties which they were unable to explain†.

\* We obtain the same conclusion from the sentence ἡ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία κ.τ.λ. If some of the sceptics here mentioned regarded Luke, and others, Clement of Rome, as the writer, their very hypotheses clearly show that the character of its style induced the doubts entertained concerning its author.

† In confirmation of our assertion, that no communities, and still less the majority of the communities, regarded the Epistle as not of Paul, we have the testimony of Eusebius, who (Hist. Eccl. l. 3, c. 3) speaks only of individuals (and even then with an appeal to the Western Church) who had raised doubts ὅτι γε μὴν τινες ἠθετήκασιν τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους, πρὸς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ὡς μὴ Παύλου οὔσαν αὐτὴν ἀντιλέγεσθαι φήσαντες, οὐ δίκαιον ἀγνοεῖν‡. How could he, indeed, have spoken so confidently of its production by Paul, if, in the time of Origen, its authorship was questioned in the majority of the congregations?

‡ In the evidence of Eusebius [Origen] we have still to estimate the value of the important words, οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες ὡς Παύλου αὐτὴν παραδεώκασιν, which Bertholdt and Schulz, as we have seen, most unjustifiably omit, and which Eichhorn and others have not deemed worthy of any closer examination. Bleek naturally weighs them with more minute attention. The question is, how far back the expression ἀρχαῖοι, in Origen, carries us? Bleek observes, he can easily conceive that Origen, in this expression, had only Clement (who died about thirty years before him) and Pantænus in view; and, indeed, it is in this way alone that the meaning attached by Bleek to εἰ τις ἐκκλησία κ.τ.λ., can be reconciled with the opinion of Origen. But can ἀρχαῖοι really refer to men of whom the one died twenty, perhaps only ten years before Origen wrote? Can he have introduced these two Alexandrian teachers with so general and indefinite a predicate? Must not the word ἀρχαῖος be taken in the same sense in which Eusebius employs it in the formula,

\* But it is probable that a person, being pressed by the proofs adduced on this point, will adopt the opinion of those who reject the Epistle as not written by Paul; in reply to such a one, it will be necessary to employ other and independent arguments in proof of the Epistle being the work of that Apostle.

† The Introductions which have appeared since the time of Bleek have been more correctly expressed on this point; De Wette, Schott. The former only says: 'Origen, although he quotes the Epistle as Pauline, yet is aware of doubts concerning it.'

‡ It should be known, however, that *some* reject it as such, (the work of Paul), and say that the Epistle was not regarded by the Roman Church as a certain and genuine Epistle of Paul.

ταῦτα μὲν ὥς ἐξ ἀρχαίων ιστορίας εἰρήσθω, and διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων παραθέσεως (Hist. Eccl. ii. 1; iii. 24)\*? Now, if we explain the phrase of Origen by that of Eusebius, we are carried back, to use the language of Hug, 'to men who stand close upon the apostolic age;' and†, in accordance with that expression, we lay it down as a fact, that, *not long after the apostolic times, our Epistle was regarded as written by Paul*, and that it enjoyed this distinction in the East, where the proximity of Palestine facilitated the spread of the earliest knowledge of its author.

'From this unprejudiced examination of the historical evidence, throughout the whole of which we have endeavoured to avert our view from the result which we were desirous to obtain, it follows that, in the time of Origen, some doubts certainly existed concerning its composition by Paul; but that the general opinion, supported by ancient tradition, was in its favour: and, even if Origen himself decide that only the *νοήματα* must be ascribed to Paul, but not its composition, we are so far from regarding this, with Eichhorn and others, as an expedient in favor of his subjective view, and, in opposition to tradition, to vindicate, by *whatever means, its origin from Paul*, that, on the contrary, we perceive in it, with Storr, (Introd. § 4), a means of reconciling *his subjective critical opinion with the force of the objective historical tradition*.‡ And, to us, the facts appear to speak so clearly in favour of this view of the passage, that, from so candid an inquirer as Bleek, when he shall reconsider the subject, we venture to hope for assent to it.

'After the time of Origen, we find the Epistle generally acknowledged, in the Alexandrian Church, as proceeding from Paul; and, in the third century, by Dionysius the Bishop, by Peter the Bishop, and by Hierax the Heretic. (See Bleek, p. 131 et seq.) This, certainly, can the less be attributed to the authority of that Father alone, as it happened, to a certain degree, in contradiction of it.'—Tholuck i. pp. 7—10.

We cannot deny that there is some force in what Tholuck has said respecting Hug's position, that the rejection of the epistle in the Roman church, was occasioned by the advantage which it yielded to the Montanists. Tholuck observes, (p. 18,) 'that suspicion is awakened against the whole hypothesis, from the total absence of proof that it was the practice of the church to give up an acknowledged book of the New Testament, whenever that measure afforded a hope of wresting the weapons from the hands of heretical opponents:' again, that Heb. vi. 4, 5, 'was, indeed, employed by the followers of Novatian in support of their doctrine, but that neither Novatian himself, nor

\* But these things I have found in the muniments of the ancients, &c.

† In Eusebius, indeed, Irenæus is designated as one τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πρεσβυτέρων, (Hist. Eccl. v. 8); still Irenæus preceded him by nearly a century and a half.

‡ So Hug, also: 'The remark was early made (in Alexandria) that the style of the Epistle was strikingly distinguished from that of the Apostle. *Although the difference was perceived, and seemed to point directly to another author, still no one dared to deny it to be his.*'

Tertullian, the head of the Montanist party, has done so; and, (p. 19) that it is still less to be assumed under the circumstances, 'that the Montanists and Novatians should have forced the western church to give up the opinions, until that time current, respecting the author of the epistle.' On one point of fact, however, Tholuck is in error. Tertullian did quote Heb. vi. 4, 5, as his principal *dictum probans* in the treatise *De Pudicitia*; and, on the whole, when we consider the date of the epistle in the Roman church, we think that Hug is right. For how, otherwise, is it to be accounted for that an epistle, publicly recognised as that to the Hebrews was, towards the close of the first century, by Clement, then bishop, and incorporated, as an apostolical writing at least, in the Old Itala version, probably about the middle of the second century, should, simultaneously, or nearly so, towards the close of that century, be rejected by a Roman presbyter in a disputation at Rome against the Montanists, and be described in a public ecclesiastical document as 'forged by some Alexandrian in the name of Paul to support the heresy of Marcion?' Does not the *impossible* idea that it was forged in Alexandria, shew that the objection rests on no historical basis? Tholuck's other observations have also less force than at first appears; as respects his observation, 'that we have no proof that it was the practice of the church in controversy, to give up an acknowledged book of the New Testament, whenever that measure afforded a hope of wresting the weapons from the hands of heretical opponents,' who would suspect the early church of a practice so suicidal? We are sure that internal considerations must have weighed, then as now, in the reception or rejection of canonical writings, and among such, doctrinal considerations would, naturally, find a place. We know they did so in producing forgeries and charges of forgery. But it is natural that this should not be avowed; their influence would exert itself principally in quickening sagacity to detect other grounds of objection; and it is a very remarkable and unusual circumstance, that a doctrinal bias should appear in a catalogue, as we have seen to be the case in the Roman one which has been noticed. This instance, however, is peculiar on two accounts; in the first place, the writing rejected was anonymous; in the second, it contained passages supposed to exhibit views which, being distasteful at Rome, were not exhibited in any other book of the New Testament canon. That Novatian did not cite the Hebrews in support of his peculiar tenets is not wonderful. He was a Roman presbyter, *after* the time that the epistle was rejected at Rome and excluded from the Roman canon. As he had aimed at the Roman episcopate, and had a Roman party, it was natural that he should yield in this respect to the general opinion, or even



partake of it, and that he should rather seek to support his peculiarities by straining other passages, than by appealing to a writing which he certainly knew was rejected, and which, if the view of Spanheim, Wetstein, and Hug, is correct, had been rejected principally on account of the countenance it had afforded to his views when maintained at an earlier period by the Marcionites.\*

There is another opinion of Dr. Tholuck's which is entitled to some notice. We have already observed that Irenæus refers to the epistle in one work only; and that in his most distinguished production, 'Adversus Hæreses' there is not one quotation from it. This circumstance evidently has great weight with Tholuck, who says, 'Irenæus *perhaps*, among the fathers, may be regarded as the person on whom the *most ancient opinion* of the East retained its hold.' It is impossible, we admit, for us to say with certainty what induced Irenæus to neglect, at one time, and when it would have been useful to him, a work which he had previously referred to. But as he was in frequent intercourse with Rome, and was even the bearer of a letter of recommendation on the part of the Montanists to the Bishop Eleutherius, we cannot but believe that when he used the epistle he was acting in conformity with the very early tradition which he had such peculiar advantages for knowing, and that in his subsequent neglect of it he was somehow influenced by Roman connexion, and perhaps an unworthy fear of countenancing the Montanist error, by giving prominence to their favourite writing.

We shall conclude what we have to say on the external evidence concerning the epistle with one or two passages from the Opuscula of Olshausen, a work, small in compass, but replete with candid and sagacious criticism. In the former section, which is chiefly occupied with an examination of Bleek's treatment of the Oriental and Alexandrian testimonies, the excellent, (but we regret to add, deceased) author, thus stated the result of his investigation into the eastern tradition on the subject of our epistle:—

'Illud jam vehementer sententiam nobis commendare videtur, ecclesiam orientalem historica traditione permotam Paulo epistolam ad Hebræos tribuisse, *quod inter patres Græcos ne unus quidem nominatur, neque in Ægypto, neque in Syria, Palæstina, Asia, Græcia, qui sententiam oppugnaverit, epistolam ab Apostolo Paulo esse profectam*; imo ne vestigium quidem deprehenditur epistolam secundum traditionem historicam ab alio quodam auctore esse derivandam; quod profecto vix alia ratione potent explicari, quam si

\* But though the epistle is not cited by him in any one of his extant writings, it is not improbable that he relied on this passage: for Jerome, Lib. II. adv. Jovinian. seems to state that he had done so.

ponamus, antiquissimam in oriente propagatam fuisse traditionem quæ Paulum epistolæ auctorem esse nominaret, cujus vestigia passim quoque apparent, cum in ipsa epistola fere nihil reperiatur, quod animum lectoris ad Paulum apostolum advertere possit.'—*Opusc.*, p. 95.

'Denique ne disputationis nostræ fines satis angustos transgrediamur, hoc unum adhuc lectoribus proponimus. Omnium veterum scriptorum dubitationes de auctore epistolæ excitantur discrimine sermonis, and paucissimis aliis argumentis a forma externa desumtis; *nunquam* dubitationes *historicæ* moventur: qua re profecto mirum in modum opinio firmatur, sententiam ecclesiæ orientalis de auctore epistolæ traditione historica niti.'—p. 104.

We should have gladly extracted what Olshausen has said respecting Hug's hypothesis on the occasion of the Roman rejection of the epistle, but it is too meagre to satisfy our readers. Convinced that Hug wrote with a strong determination to support the Pauline authorship, (which is indeed the case) he considers that Bleek has succeeded in showing that the former had perverted the facts, and put them in a false light. On the other hand, he contends that Bleek, equally with Hug, missed the independent and true import of the facts, by pressing them into the service of a critical theory. 'Rectius autem egisset vir doctus,' says he, 'si ostendisset *Hugium* . . . dissonantiam inter occidentem et orientem, quod adtinet ad traditionem de auctore epistolæ, perperam ex factis historicis derivare voluisse, quæ sententiam occidentis de origine epistolæ apostolica mutassent, cum rectius *ex ratione, quæ inter Paulum apostolum et scriptorem epistolæ intercederet, possit explicari*.'—p. 117. Olshausen, therefore, maintains that the earliest Roman evidence is unfavourable to the Pauline authorship, and accounts for the contrary tradition in the East, by supposing that the epistle was written by some companion or friend of Paul, and with his sanction and assistance. Our readers will, of course, judge for themselves respecting the probability of this. We adhere to the opinion we have already expressed respecting the rejection of the epistle in the Roman church, as being on the whole the most natural and probable which we can form.

The INTERNAL criteria of authorship are, first, passages having personal reference to the author; secondly, the doctrinal character of the epistle; and, thirdly, its peculiarities of style and language. Under the first class, five passages have received particular attention: ch. ii. 3, which seems to reduce the author to the rank (according to the received text,) of those to whom the truth had been confirmed by our Lord's immediate disciples; ch. x. 34, where the writer refers to his imprisonment; ch. xiii. 18, where he entreats the prayers of the Hebrews that he might be restored to them the sooner; verse 23,



where he describes Timothy as his brother, and states his intention to visit them in his company; and verse 24, where he conveys to them a salutation from some Christians of Italy. It is generally acknowledged that the three last passages favour Paul's being the author; they are so regarded by Tholuck, to whose first volume, pp. 20—24, our readers may refer. The first passage has, on the other hand, been always regarded as interposing a serious difficulty in the way of that conclusion, one so serious as not only to have confirmed the doubts of speculative modern critics, but to have decided the judgment of Luther, and even that of Calvin, against the authorship of Paul. We are certainly not surprised that, with such passages as 2 Cor. xi. 5, Gal. i. 1, 11, 16, ii. 6, in his mind, Calvin should consider the passage under consideration as inconsistent with Paul's apostolic claims; but we are surprised that his almost unrivalled acuteness and discrimination should have failed to discover what, with all due respect, we consider an adequate solution of the difficulty. The apostolic character of the author, was not a matter of so much moment in this epistle, by whomsoever written, as the Hebrews are, in ch. xiii. 7—17, referred to the apostles resident in Palestine as their ecclesiastical guides; in consistency with which reference there is no inscription at the head of the epistle claiming for its author any ecclesiastical superiority to those to whom he writes. Granting, therefore, which we do without hesitation, that his apostolic character might have been disputed in Palestine as well as in Galatia, we see, in the circumstances of the two epistles, sufficient difference to account for the different style of address adopted, supposing Paul to have been the author of both. In Galatia, the cause of the gospel, as the great charter of redemption and rule of Christian liberty, depended on the overthrow of the adverse party, by whom Paul's apostolic character and evangelical doctrine had been depreciated; he wrote, therefore, as one commissioned for the propagation, and set for the defence of the gospel. In Palestine, the church was under the direction of the 'apostles of the circumcision,' who were especially commissioned by their Lord to watch over his Hebrew fold. Now, though Paul knew, as well as any functionary, how to magnify his office when its objects were in danger, and its duties were urgent, he cared very little for the show of office or authority; and the epistle to the Hebrews, while it bears the stamp of an apostle throughout, in the powerful, though unaffected, and unassuming tone of its moral admonitions, and contains some passages (e. g. ch. xiii. 20, 21, 25,) which reveal the station of the writer, is evidently to be viewed as a labour of love, not necessarily required by any official connexion of the author with the Hebrews, (ch. xiii. 7, 17), but commended to their attention on such



grounds as the subject, the brevity of the communication, (v. 22) and their feeling for the author (v. 18), would naturally suggest to them. The interest on which the writer actually relied, we believe to have been the services which he had rendered to the Hebrews, to which we think there is a tacit reference in v. 19, and it will be observed that the whole bearing of the argument—i. e., on perseverance under difficulty, persecution, the scattering of families, and the spoiling of goods, (see especially chapter x. 32, 33, and xi. ad finem,) is in unison with the state of feeling which would naturally be called out in one who had previously gathered contributions from the Gentile churches for his persecuted brethren in Judea, and would be strictly justifiable from one, though not officially connected with them, to whom the Hebrews had been accustomed to look for such assistance, and who had, for a season, been prevented from doing anything for their relief. This view is capable of being represented in a very copious light of allusions, but our limits forbid expansion. We merely add, in reference to the objection derived from ch. ii. 3, that, fairly considered, the passage no more describes the writer as exclusively indebted to the apostles for his knowledge of Christ, than it implies his consciousness that he was (with the Hebrews) under special inward temptation to apostatise from Christianity. It is a passage of the same class as Rom. xiii. 11—14, and both are examples of a well known rhetorical figure.

We must pass very briefly over the second branch of the internal evidence, that we may leave sufficient room for a general description of Mr. Forster's work. The chief objection to the Pauline authorship connected with this branch, is derived from the signification of Πιστις, which is alleged to be peculiar to this epistle, and on which Hug may be consulted. Meanwhile, the doctrinal coincidences (blended with coincidences in the form or mould of doctrine) are very remarkable. Compare the allegorical parts of this epistle with 1 Cor. x. 1—5; 2 Cor. iii. 13—18; and Gal. iv. 21—31. Hug has noticed a few particular examples, all referring to one subject only,—Christian instruction. 'With Paul, God's word is a sword, (Eph. vi. 17,) so in Heb. iv. 12. Instruction for beginners and weakminded persons is milk; for those well-grounded in the faith, it is βρωμα and στερεὰ τροφή, strong meat, (Heb. v. 13, 1 Cor. iii. 2.) The first are νήπιοι (1 Cor. iii. 1, Heb. v. 13); the subjects of instruction suitable for them are στοιχεῖα (Gal. iv. 9, Heb. v. 12.) The well-grounded, on the other hand, are τέλειοι (Heb. v. 14, 1 Cor. xiv. 20); and their condition is τελειότης (Col. iii. 14, Heb. vi. 1.)' Well, therefore, might Origen say—'the sentiments are the Apostle's,' and even Bleek admits that 'in respect of the ideas and the whole circle of thought, our epistle has an affinity with no other

writings in the New Testament so great as with those of Paul.' Of course we do not press this species of evidence as conclusive in itself; it is chiefly valuable as it affects the argument that the epistle cannot be Paul's because its doctrinal character is different from that of his professed writings.

The last branch of the internal evidence,—style and language, is one on which we can only touch, and that only as it is exhibited in Mr. Forster's elaborate work. The questions which may be raised under this head are nearly innumerable; and the forms in which arguments may be put, almost equally various. Professor Stuart, in the introduction to his Commentary on the Epistle, had handled this branch of the subject with untiring diligence, as well as great learning and admirable effect, and Mr. Forster has since produced a volume of nearly seven hundred pages upon it. The two authors coincide very closely in their results, and in some of their details; though we have Mr. Forster's own authority (page 25) for saying that he had not perused Professor Stuart's work when he published his own. Mr. Forster indeed goes into his investigations as if he were ignorant that any similar investigations had been made before: and we suspect that he was ignorant of most of them. Stuart, on the contrary, had Bertholdt, Schulz, and the most determined impugnors of the epistle constantly in view; and if this circumstance had the effect, which we do not know that it had, of impairing, in any degree, the Professor's well-known and exemplary impartiality, it certainly rendered his discussion of the question more interesting and more valuable to the student. Many of his refutations are really triumphant, and the exposure which his work afforded of the haste, partiality, intemperance, assumption, and low conceptions of truth and of the Christian religion, which lie even upon the surface of some of the most current productions of modern German theology, was a most important service rendered to our Christian youth. Mr. Forster's work, however, dealing with no objections of a later date than the introduction of J. D. Michaelis, and analyzing the epistle as if it had never been analyzed before, and perhaps we ought to say to an extent to which it never was analyzed before, proceeds quietly and steadily on, from one investigation to another, and presents table after table, with synopses of results, and indexes in such abundance and variety, that there is hardly any linguistic point affecting the epistle, on which the student may desire information, respecting which he might not there obtain it, stated in the clearest and most satisfactory manner.

The course of Mr. Forster's main argument will be best understood from a synoptical view, which we regret that he did not himself give, (thus depriving his own volume of an advan-

tage which he has, with utmost pains, afforded to the epistle under discussion,) of the subjects successively handled in the first fourteen sections of his work. These are:—

Sect. I. Identity of manner between the epistle to the Hebrews, and St. Paul's undisputed epistles, in the use of particular words; pp. 41—68, the words instanced are—ἀγών—ἀθλησις, ἀθλέω, συναθλέω—ἀπεκδέχομαι—ἀφιλάργυρος—δουλεία—ἐνδυναμόω—εὐτυγχάνω—εὐάρεστος, εὐαρεστέω, εὐαρέστως—θαῤῥέω—λατρεία—λειτουργέω, λειτουργία, λειτουργός—μεσίτης—μιμητής—ὀλοθρευτής, ὀλοθρένω—ὁμολογία—ὄνειδισμός—περιποίησις—συνείδησις—τιμωρέω, τιμωρία—φιλοξενία—φράττω—and a few phrases.

Sect. II. Identity, &c., in the use of the word καταργέω, pp. 69—76.

Sect. III. TABLES of New Testament words, peculiar to the epistle to the Hebrews, and the undisputed epistles of St. Paul; with their parallel verbal dependencies. pp. 77—189.

Sect. IV. TABLES of words peculiar to the epistle to the Hebrews, and the undisputed epistles of Paul; found elsewhere, neither in the New Testament, the Septuagint, nor the Apocrypha; with their parallel verbal dependencies. pp. 190—233.

Sect. V. TABLES of words, occasionally occurring elsewhere in the New Testament; but in the manner, or the frequency, of their occurrence, peculiar to the epistle to the Hebrews, and the undisputed epistles of Paul. pp. 234—344.

Sect. VI. Examination of some leading parallel passages, from the epistle to the Hebrews, and the undisputed epistles of St. Paul. pp. 345—374.  
The passages instanced, are:—

Heb. i. 1 . . = Acts, xiii. 32. Eph. iii. 4, 5. 2 Cor. vi. 8.

Heb. ii. 2 . . = Gal. iii. 19, &c.

Heb. iii. 1, 2 . . = 1 Tim. vi. 12, 13.

Heb. iii. 2—6 . . = 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17. 2 Cor. v. 1, 2.

Heb. iii. 7—19 = 1 Cor. x. 1—12.

Heb. iv. 3, &c. = Eph. v. 6. Rom. ii. 17. 2 Thess. i. 7.

Heb. iv. 12 . . = Eph. vi. 17.

Heb. iv. 16 . . = 2 Cor. vi. 1, 2.



- { Heb. vi. 9—12 . = 1 Thess. i. 2—7. 2 Thess. i. 3—5.  
 { Heb. vi. 10 . . = Col. i. 3, 4.  
 Heb. vi. 18—20 = Phil. iii. 12—14.  
 { Heb. vii. 2 . . = Rom. xiv. 17.  
 { Heb. vii. 3 . . = Rom. vi. 5.  
 Heb. vii. 11, 12 = Rom. ix. 4. xv. 12, 16.  
 Heb. vii. 19 . . = Gal. iv. 9. Tit. iii. 9.  
 Heb. vii. 21 . . = Rom. xi. 29.  
 Heb. vii. 23, 24 = Phil. i. 24, 25.  
 Heb. vii. 25 . . = Rom. viii. 34.  
 Heb. viii. 2 . . = Rom. xv. 16.  
 Heb. viii. 3 . . = Eph. v. 2.  
 Heb. viii. 10 . . = 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3.  
 Heb. ix. 15 . . = Gal. iii. 18—20.  
 Heb. ix. 16, 20 = 1 Cor. xi. 25, 26.  
 Heb. ix. 24 . . = 2 Cor. v. 1.  
 Heb. x. 1 . . . = Col. ii. 17.  
 Heb. x. 4 . . . = Rom. viii. 7.  
 Heb. x. 12 . . = Eph. i. 20. Col. iii. 1.  
 Heb. xii. 18—25 = Eph. i. 7—10. Col. i. 14—28, &c. &c.  
 Sect. VII. Identity, &c., in the use of favourite words. pp.  
 375—378; exemplified in the use of *πλοῦτος*.  
 Sect. VIII. Identity, &c., in the habit of going off at a word.  
 pp. 379—389.  
 Sect. IX. Identity, &c., in the use of the Paranomasia, or  
 play upon words. pp. 390—395.  
 Sect. X. Identity, &c., in modes of quotation from the  
 Old Testament. pp. 396—403.  
 Sect. XI. Identity, &c., in the use of key-texts. pp. 404  
 —451.  
 Sect. XII. Harmony of parallel passages between the epistle  
 to the Hebrews and the undisputed epistles of  
 Paul [in a tabular form]. pp. 452—540.

It is, of course, impossible that we should speak particularly on all or any one of the topics of internal evidence thus opened in Mr. Forster's work. It is sufficient to say, that while some of his very numerous instances amount in our view to mere casual coincidences, which could be paralleled, had one of Peter's epistles been selected for comparison, others are remarkably striking; and no student of Scripture could follow out the investigations in this volume without making important additions to his biblical knowledge. We do not agree with Mr. Forster, that this internal evidence, in the merely linguistic portion of it at any rate, is of higher amount than the external, in relation to the authorship of the epistle. Still, the linguistic evidence must always demand attention, from the peculiarities which are observable in the style, and from their evident effect in modifying

the judgments of the Alexandrian school, and even of Eusebius, respecting the actual authorship of the epistle. Every succeeding investigation, however, satisfies us more and more that there are no peculiarities of style or manner sufficient to justify the suspicion that Paul did not write it, or which are not in general accounted for by the circumstances under which he wrote, the nature of his subject, and the condition and prejudices of the people whom he addressed.

As the subject of Mr. Forster's eleventh section will not be intelligible without some explanation, and as that section develops, in his view, an important as well as *original* argument in support of Paul's authorship of the epistle, we shall extract from the preface to his volume a passage relating to his theory.

'To the adoption of this plan [that of critically analyzing the epistle] I was originally led, by the nature of the Inquiry itself, and by the course pursued, alike, by the supporters and the opposers of Saint Paul's claim to the authorship of the disputed epistle: who, however at variance in other respects, are unanimously agreed, as to the mode of investigation essential to any final settlement of the question. Convinced that this mode had not hitherto been done justice to by either party, I began, accordingly, by a complete analysis of the verbal peculiarities of style, common to Saint Paul and Hebrews: and advancing, gradually, from the consideration of words, to the comparison of contexts, ended in the discovery of a peculiar law of composition, affecting the general scheme and structure, which had wholly escaped the commentators; and which, being common to the whole of Saint Paul's undisputed writings and to the Epistle to the Hebrews, furnished, in support of the received title of this Epistle, a new argument, as comprehensive, as the verbal argument was minute. This law consists in the regular recurrence in Hebrews, and (with the exception of the short letter to Philemon) in *all* Saint Paul's unquestioned Epistles, of certain words and phrases, at certain intervals, marking the return of the same ideas, and standing as keys, both to the subordinate topics, and to the main theme or subject of each letter. Upon first observing and verifying this phenomenon, I was struck with its interpretative bearings: and, upon examination, found, to my great satisfaction, that my first impression was fully borne out: in those Epistles, upon whose general subjects all commentators are agreed, the key-texts invariably coinciding with the subjects; whence it followed, by parity of reasoning, that, in those Epistles whose themes are still matter of controversy, the subjects must coincide with the key-texts: as, in the one case, the key was found to fit the lock; so in the other, the lock would be sure to fit the key. This *experimentum crucis*, further, invariably issued, not in abstract or dogmatic, but in practical and experimental views of Christianity.'—*Pref.* pp. iv. v.

In the lengthened discussions of the section devoted to this subject, and in which the *key-texts* of several of Paul's epistles

are investigated, it might be anticipated that various important topics would occur. We find it so, in fact. We find, also, many things in the section from which we dissent; and we do not think that the principle of the section is so clear as Mr. Forster considers it to be; we admit, however, that we have not yet given this part of his work all the attention which it deserves; and we can safely assure our readers that, though unnecessarily prolix, it treats ingeniously several points which will well reward attention. It would have gratified us to have given an extract from the section, but this would hardly be doing justice to it, and for the same reason we can give no example of the tables which form so important a feature of this book. We shall therefore select from the thirteenth Section, (which is devoted to a re-examination of part of the external evidences, the testimonies of the apostolical fathers, and of the Alexandrian writers,) a passage which will afford a favourable specimen of Mr. Forster's manner.

'Having been already led to mention S. Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, I am induced, for a particular reason, to select this short letter, as the first to pass under review. My motive for departing, in so doing, from the order of time, is, that I observe, in this epistle, a passage, wholly unnoticed by Jortin and Lardner, and without any note of reference in the margin of Cotelierius, which yet contains, in my apprehension, in the fullest sense of the phrase, 'an undoubted reference' to the Epistle to the Hebrews. That the reader may feel assured I put no strain on the expression, I shall first submit a received example of 'undoubted reference,' taken from this very epistle of S. Polycarp,—being the single instance contained in it of reference to the Acts of the Apostles.

'Acts ii. 24.

ὃν ὁ Θεὸς ἀνέστησε,  
λύσας τὰς ῥοδαῖνας τοῦ θανάτου.

S. Polyc. Ep. ad Phil. I.

ὃν ἡγείρεν ὁ Θεός,  
λύσας τὰς ῥοδαῖνας τοῦ ᾄδου.

'This solitary coincidence Dr. Lardner pronounces, in my opinion most justly, 'a reference which may be reckoned undoubted.'\* 'The following (observes Archdeacon Paley, remarking on the same passage)

\* He might have observed a reference, little less strong, to *Hebrews*, in the clause immediately preceding:

'Heb. xii. 2.

ὃς...ὑπέμεινε σταυρὸν,  
αἰσχύνῃς καταφρονήσας.

S. Polyc. Ep. ad Phil. I.

ὃς ὑπέμεινεν, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν  
ἡμῶν,  
ἕως θανάτου καταντῆσαι.

There is no second example, in the New Testament, of this turn of expression, in connexion with our Lord. The probability of reference, in the place of S. Polycarp, to Heb. xii. 2, becomes greatly heightened, when taken in connexion with the more decisive example of reference, produced in my text, to the close of the same chapter.



is a *decisive*, though what we call a tacit, reference, to S. Peter's speech in the Acts of the Apostles: 'Whom God hath raised, having loosed the pains of death' [hell], With this example of undoubted reference in his view, the reader will consider the following coincidence.

'Heb. xii. 28.

ἡ λατρεύωμεν\* ἐν ἀρέστω τῷ Θεῷ,

μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ ἐνλαβείας.

S. Polyc. Ep. ad. Phil. VI.

δουλεύσωμεν αὐτῷ [τῷ Κυρίῳ  
καὶ Θεῷ,]

μετὰ φόβου καὶ πάσης ἐνλαβείας.

'With similar verbal variations, after the manner of the apostolic Fathers, from the sacred text, this coincidence is, in every respect, equally clear and close with the preceding example. It is remarkable, also, in this further respect, that, with the exception of the place in Hebrews, the sentiment is expressed in the same form, in one instance more only, throughout both Testaments. This instance is, Psalm ii. 11, δουλεύσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ. Grotius is the only commentator with whom I am acquainted, who refers Heb. xii. 28, to this passage of the second Psalm, its undoubted source: that it is so, we have sufficient evidence in the passages themselves; were not the designed reference rendered unquestionable by the additional fact, that, Heb. i. 5, we meet a formal quotation of the seventh verse of the same Psalm.

'Now the presumption that, in the passage of S. Polycarp under consideration, we possess an undoubted reference to Heb. xii. 28, or rather a tacit quotation of that text, derives fresh corroboration from the further circumstance, that we find him, in an earlier part of his letter (cap. II.), tacitly citing the *ipsissima verba*, in the lxx. version, of the corresponding passage of the second Psalm. Nor is this all: for, on comparing together the whole of the passages, it would appear, that, while quoting the very words of the Epistle to the Hebrews, this apostolic Father had his eye, at the same time, on the lxx. version of the Psalm.

'Psalm ii. 11.

δουλεύσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ.

Heb. xii. 28.

ἡ λατρεύωμεν ἐν ἀρέστω τῷ Θεῷ,  
μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ ἐνλαβείας.

S. Polyc. II.

δουλεύσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ  
καὶ ἀληθείᾳ.

S. Polyc. VI.

δουλεύσωμεν αὐτῷ,  
μετὰ φόβου καὶ πάσης ἐνλαβείας.

'The whole of the first passage from S. Polycarp, and the words in the second passage which vary from Heb. xii. 28, are taken, it appears, with studious exactness, from the lxx. version of the original Psalm.

'The reader is now furnished with materials to judge for himself, whether, upon Dr. Lardner's ground, the internal marks, in the preceding passages, be not sufficient to authorise the inference of 'an undoubted reference,' by Polycarp, to the Epistle to the Hebrews.'—pp. 546—549.

The commentary of Dr. Tholuck, the introduction to which

\* ὅτι πάση προῇ λατρεύει.—S. Polyc. Cap. II.

has come under consideration in this paper, is distinguished for the prominent excellences of the author. Though written in haste, and not free from the errors into which haste invariably leads, it abounds in admirable elucidations, frequently deep, usually comprehensive, and almost invariably strikingly instructive. We may say this with confidence, from a familiar acquaintance with the original work, though unable to go into further detail at present. Mr. Hamilton's translation has been carefully made, and is well expressed. It reads well as English. Mr. Ryland has, in his translation of the appendix, fallen short of the merit of his former translations. The subject of the first appendix is confessedly difficult, and was handled by Dr. Tholuck in a very obscure and unsatisfactory manner, but the translation has missed the sense in several places. Should we be mistaken in conjecturing that the translator of the Commentary shrunk from the difficulty of the appendix, and that his coadjutor accepted the task at the eleventh hour, with time too limited to do justice to it? We know not how to account otherwise for the difference between this and Mr. Ryland's excellent translation of Guido and Julius, in which he showed a thorough competency to the rendering of Tholuck's cast of thought. The appendix, however, any way translated, could not add much to the value of the volumes. But they are well worth possessing for the commentary's sake, and we could wish that they were correctly printed.

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Art. II. *The Life of Joseph Addison.* By Lucy Aikin. In 2 Vols. London: 1843. Longman and Co.

WE received these delightful volumes, on a very wet day, at an old manor-house in the country. It was at just such a place the author of Sir Roger de Coverley himself resided, when he had made the purchase of Bilton, near Rugby, in Warwickshire. A thousand intellectual associations therefore at once revived in our minds connected with Swift, Pope, Steele, the Tatler, Guardian, Spectator, Harley, Bolingbroke, and, above all, the gentle Addison,—an individual easily overrated as a politician, but certainly not so as an elegant writer. It may now be within the compass of a myriad pens to pour forth, for a book-making age, pages and publications replete with tolerable English; yet we must always remember, that a hundred and fifty years ago the graces of a correct style were exceedingly rare, and whoever contributed towards making them more common has deserved large

acknowledgments from posterity. The beautiful is never to be despised. There was no *Arbiter elegantiarum* until the reign of Queen Anne, who could be compared with the subject of this article in imparting an external polish to our language; or who so diligently laboured to employ the influence which literature and social position afforded him on behalf of mere moral excellence. He wrote specifically and cordially to render his contemporaries less coarse in their habits, less foolish in their prejudices, and less vulgar in their modes of expression; and in all these respects, to a certain extent, he marvellously succeeded. On such grounds alone he merited a distinct memoir. Miss Aikin has only expatiated on what must have occurred to multitudes; namely, wonder, that 'while the lives of Pope and Swift had been written and rewritten with unwearied research and distinguished ability; while Dryden had in recent times been made the object of a detailed and interesting biography,' both few and rare were the accounts of a contemporary upon a par with them all in fame, and so superior to most of them in the amenity and purity of his productions. Doctor Johnson honoured him, indeed, with a prefatory notice in his *Lives of the Poets*; but with more of the critic about him than the biographer, at least on this occasion, there was, as our authoress has remarked, no chance whatever that the judicial scales would be held with an impartial hand when the character, 'whether personal or literary, of a decided Whig was placed in the balance.' Miss Aikin has been enabled to correct the impertinences and errors—though probably they deserve a worse name—known to have been preserved in manuscript by Spence, upon which the learned Doctor of Toryism seems mainly to have relied. She has explored, with meritorious care, the correspondence of her hero, and applied it to illustrate his career. There are various letters in her volumes which have never before appeared in print. Valuable memorials, still extant in the Tickell family, were confided to her survey. The State Paper Office was thrown open to her researches. Nor must we omit the beautiful portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller, in the possession of Lord Northwick, of which the noble owner permitted an engraving to be taken for the first time, that as a frontispiece to these volumes the poet, moralist, and statesman, might look out upon us from his flowing curls, and make us fancy that his intelligent eyes and double chin were still rife with delicate humour, and eloquent imaginings, for the enrichment of some popular periodical.

He was born at Milston, on Mayday, 1672; borrowing, most probably, his christian name from Sir Joseph Williamson, one of the Secretaries of State, and who had proved an invaluable patron to the family. The only anecdote of his childhood, which



has come down to us, betrays that constitutional sensitiveness which clung about him to the last, vibrating often between bashfulness and indecision, and materially interfering with his subsequent official usefulness. Having, whilst at school in the neighbourhood, committed some slight misdemeanor, the dread of punishment or disgrace so affected his imagination, that he escaped into the fields and forests, living upon fruits for perhaps six-and-thirty hours, and lodging 'in a hollow tree, until discovered and brought back to his parents.' A pretty woodcut is given of the parsonage, within whose humble walls he first saw the light; and of whose thatched roof and latticed windows he must often have thought in brighter days; long after the fears of flagellation, or the horrors of a pedagogue, had haunted his mind. After some preliminary education, his ultimate seminary was the Charter-house; where, as the son of an ecclesiastical dignitary (for to that rank his sire had now risen,) he entered not on the foundation, but in the character of a private pupil. His favourite play-fellow here was Richard Steele; and the two youths laid the foundation of a curious friendship, destined, however, to evaporate afterwards, amidst the ebullitions of party contention. Addison, nevertheless, had always the upper hand. His character already began to develop the better sort of elements—judgment, self-control, tastes for the learned languages, industry, and a general desire for both mental and moral improvement. Richard had seen more summers than Joseph, and evinced greater gaiety as well as cordiality in his disposition; so that the Dean of Litchfield seems formally to have pronounced a benediction upon the lads, trusting that their mutual affection might endure for many years, which, in truth, it did, although not for life. They were at Oxford together, until Addison left that university in 1699. Meanwhile, Alma Mater smiled upon the future essayists; more especially on the one who was destined to be most celebrated. He had entered at Queen's, and diligently applied to the composition of Latin verses. An accidental sight of some of these, by his Provost, led to his appointment, or rather election, as a Demy of Magdalene College, ten years before his withdrawal from the banks of the Cherwell,—to a secluded walk along the banks of which he bequeathed his name. There, amidst the rows of trees, not a few of which he is said to have planted, he shunned all boisterous society, and conversed with the classic muse. He was always accounted a great student, reported to be very nervous, known to be very sober, and no doubt there were innumerable practical jokes played off upon a young man, who could dream of preferring books to port wine, or Greek and Natural History to the gambling table and mistresses. Oxford was as profligate

then as she is prejudiced now; yet so long as the unobtrusive recluse held his tongue, and told no tales, she tolerated his oddities, for the sake of a little decency and character. He became Fellow in due course; and after dipping into the art of criticism and the study of metaphysics, he was very nearly plunging into scholastic theology, and taking orders. Poetry and the Belles Lettres, nevertheless, too frequently absorbed his attention to allow such a scheme to ripen into maturity. His earliest extant attempt in English versification, is a short eulogium addressed to Dryden, in which he congratulates that veteran of Parnassus, on 'his having heightened the majesty of Virgil, given new charms to Horace, smoother numbers to Persius, and a new edge to the satires of Juvenal!' The elder bard condescended to receive all this flattery with no little complaisance; and after lauding a translation of the fourth\* Georgic by Addison in return, he permitted him to supply the arguments for the twelve books of the *Æneid*, as also a critical essay upon the Georgics, generally, which he prefixed to his own paraphrase. *Laudari a laudato viro laus est*; and the young collegian not only deemed the ancient correct, who uttered this aphorism, but he resolved to act in the spirit of it. His juvenile pieces are at least fraught with modesty; nor is it long before we find him in full correspondence with Jonson the bookseller, about the arduous task of presenting Herodotus to the public in a British dress. A portion of this undertaking he completed; although what became of it fails to appear. Three books of Ovid he not only rendered into rhyme, but let them obtain a place in a volume of the Miscellany Poems. The notes, which he appended to them, exceed in real worth the text they were designed to explain; since in them will be discovered, by an attentive reader, 'the first draught of that system of pure taste, which he reproduced in its finished state in his admirable Spectator, on true and false wit.' These were followed by his 'Account of the greatest English Poets, from Chaucer to Dryden,'—an epistle addressed to his academical companion, Henry Sacheverel, to whose sister, it is conceived by some, he might have been at the time honourably engaged. After the royal success of William the Third at Namur, we have him following the example of others, and tormenting his Majesty with a paper of verses. Miss Aikin makes these judicious remarks upon all such attempts:—

'Victories and peace-makings, royal accessions, and births and marriages, so long as they continue topics for the Gazette, have always

\* Miss Aikin by mistake calls it the *second*, and thereby spoils a pretty bon-mot of Dryden on the subject. We cannot help alluding to this, as a specimen of the very numerous minor inaccuracies into which our authoress has fallen.

about them too much of vulgar notoriety, too much of the everyday notions and phrases of every man, not to be the scorn and disgust of the muses. *Their sacred flame, we might say, is never kindled at the parish bonfire.* Yet these are precisely the topics on which poems are wont to be commanded, or *likely to be rewarded, by the rulers of the state.* —Vol. i., p. 45.

It was for the very reason last mentioned, that Addison could not afford to forego any means of access to the ladder of preferment. His allowance from home was scanty for the son of a dean; and what was more, he had for some reason or other come to differ with his father touching both high-church and tory principles. There is no information on record as to how this change was brought about; whilst at the same time, it must be borne in recollection that whigs a century and half ago chiefly quarrelled with their opponents with regard to names and persons, rather than the nature of genuine liberalism and popular institutions. What we mean is, that both sections of public men were equally guiltless of aiming at the emancipation from political thralldom of the mighty masses of their fellow creatures. Still, —in the parlance of that period, the young aspirant at Oxford, —already a poet in inclination, and a marked man at Magdalene, proclaimed himself before the monarch of the Revolution an adherent to Lord Somers. As it was an age of Macænases, his lordship, when addressed in a series of passable couplets, requested an interview with their writer. From that moment, Somers adopted Addison as the choicest amongst his disciples. The relationship of patron and client continued until death dissolved it. The treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, again awakened the fervour of poetic numbers. Addison, on this occasion, endeavoured to charm his sovereign in Roman hexameters; which at least pleased Charles Montague, and secured another protector at court for opening genius. The latter statesman, better known as Lord Halifax, had probably the principal hand in detaching Addison from all ideas of ordination. His father pressed it on his conscience, though with no slight admixture, we fear, of secular arguments on its side. His son, also, we are told, ‘continued to defer that irrevocable step, *like one waiting upon fortune.*’ Such are among the religious, or, as we ought to say, the irreligious results of connecting any denomination of the church of Christ with the state. Here was an amiable moralist, as yet irreproachable as to external virtue, evidently hesitating whether he should avow himself ‘moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon him the office of a minister to souls,’ or whether it would *better answer his purpose* to strike, for human fame and advancement, into another path. The system is what we denounce, without pretending to pry into the privacy of human conviction; although our fair biographer seems to scout



the suggestions of Tickell, that his gifted friend really had so remarkable a share of seriousness and modesty, that he conceived 'the duties of the priesthood might be too weighty for him.' We beg to assure Miss Aikin, that had such scruples really existed, they would have betrayed 'no abjectness of spirit' in the object of her admiration; but in our humble opinion, just the reverse. He was now twenty-five years of age, finding neither his fellowship nor the resource of pupils sufficient for his expenses. Debt and perplexity stared him in the face: until his patrons decided the matter for him, by an offer from the crown of 300*l.* per annum, to enable him to complete the circle of his accomplishments by foreign travel. Queen Elizabeth had set a precedent of this kind; which an embarrassed scholar must have seen followed, on his own behalf, with no trifling share of self-gratulation. Before setting out on his journey, he procured from the Sheldon Press the publication of a Sequel to the *Musæ Anglicanæ*, in which eight Latin pieces from his own pen were included; so that it might serve as a suitable introduction for him to the learned wits throughout the continent of Europe.

Boileau accepted this credential, according to Dr. Johnson, with civility rather than approbation; nor have we any doubt in our own minds, but that the noble auspices, under which Addison was enabled to present himself at Paris, were of far more real service to him than any printed duodecimo in the world. Feeling that he must perfect himself in the French language, before he could converse with his new associates upon advantageous terms, he resolved to reside at Blois for a twelvemonth. Here we are told, he rose about two or three in the morning in the summer, and kept himself warm in bed, during the winter, even till eleven or twelve o'clock in the day; a report which will be considered probable enough by any one personally acquainted with the comfortless habits of continental country towns, when the thermometer verges towards zero. That he made good use of his time is pretty evident; since he acquired freedom and fluency in that tongue, which would render him at home with the courtiers of Louis XIV.; besides devoting entire hours and days, in succession, to the furtherance of his classical studies. A commencement was also made of his tragedy of *Cato*. He wrote frequently to his patrons and friends in England, taking care to keep up a proper interest in their good graces; lest, being out of their sight, he might possibly drop out of their minds. Descriptions of what he had seen in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, furnished him with ample topics for correspondence; nor are we sorry to perceive in his then unfashionable preference for Fontainebleau above the splendors of Versailles, an early earnest, that nature, rather than artificiality, would become the sovereign of his

intellectual affections. The following sentences we just venture to transcribe, (though without adhering to their orthography,) from a letter addressed to Congreve, after alluding to the Windsor of France:—‘It is situated among rocks and woods, that give you a fine variety of savage prospects. The king has humoured the genius of the place, and only made use of so much art as is necessary to help and regulate nature, without reforming her too much. The cascades seem to break through the clefts and crags covered over with moss, and look as if they were piled upon one another by accident. There is an artificial wildness in the meadows, walks, and canals; and the garden, instead of a wall, is fenced on the lower end by a natural mound of rock work, that strikes the eye very agreeably. For my part, I think there is something more charming in these rude heaps of stone, *than in so many statues*; and I would sooner see a river winding through woods and valleys, than when it is tossed up in such a variety of figures, as at Versailles.’ Here we see the real taste of the future Spectator, sharpening its quills as a literary porcupine, to be shot unceasingly against folly, tinsel, and affectation, wherever opportunity might afterwards serve for waging the not inglorious warfare. His keen eye already detected the false and hollow principles, which domineered, in the name of fashion, over the common sense of the day. Men, women, palaces, institutions, hospitals, theatres, habits, and manners, passed before his observation, and contributed to his accumulating magazine of quiet humour. Without being at present talkative himself, he listened to all, watched all, and remembered all. Hogarth is said to have frequented large assemblies, more particularly mobs, that he might gather materials for the grotesque, and make mirth the mistress of good morals. He would come home, sometimes, with the finger nails of his left hand covered with the pencilled outlines of singular features, odd noses, queer-looking mouths, rugged foreheads, or lanthorn jaws. Thus moved our ingenious traveller over the stage of human life. In studying other languages, he also polished his own; putting an edge, moreover, to his general style, not as yet arrived at its peculiar temper, nor always even quite grammatical. Thus he tells his friend Abraham Stanyan, secretary of the *ambassy* at Paris, ‘I should have *went* to Italy before now,’ instead of ‘gone:’ with other similar inaccuracies, which were soon to be banished for ever, not only from his personal correspondence, but mainly through his own efforts and example, from the universal parlance of his countrymen. Meanwhile, having formed an acquaintance with the husband of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, they proceeded together through the saloons of a gay capital, in company with Malebranche and all the literary stars which

France could then boast of; until, in the ensuing autumn, Marseilles and Italy attracted them southwards. From Genoa, he pressed forward, through Milan, Venice, Ravenna, and Loretto to Rome; thence to Naples by land, back to the Tiber by sea, and homewards through Florence, Bologna, and Turin, to Geneva; which he reached exactly two years and a half after his departure from England. An account of these journeys and voyages, subsequently published, exhibits his progress 'in that difficult art of painting landscapes by words, in which he was certainly one of the very earliest English proficient; much as we are now tempted to regard a feeling for the picturesque, and skill in describing it, in the light of a national endowment.' We could easily demonstrate this by extracts, did our limits allow it: but as, in all excellent things, there must and will be growth, so we can hardly be surprised to find still lingering about the mind of Addison some senseless prejudices against gothic architecture, as well as an extraordinary insensibility to the grandeur of Alpine scenery. In fact, the last was too much for him, as the mountains of Cumberland and Westmoreland were for Charles Lamb. It must be remembered, too, that the month in which he crossed from Turin into Switzerland was December, when 'modern roads and modern accommodations were as yet undreamed of amidst these frowning solitudes.' The peril, moreover, of what he portrays as 'giddy precipices and eternal snows,' was then no mere bugbear of the imagination: which he glances at, in declaring that 'the sight of a plain was as agreeable to him after the passage of Mount Cenis, as that of a shore was a year before,' when he reached Genoa after a dreadful tempest. That the terrors of the sublime in nature had awakened his poetic powers, is manifest from his being then fully employed in the composition of his 'Epistle to Lord Halifax from Italy.' He even presumes to insinuate that he believed himself 'the first person who ever thought of Parnassus' under such circumstances; and that a man might as well attempt to 'write an epic poem in a hackney coach!' But these expressions may probably be understood as the last rags of that foppery and finesse which his genius was destined to annihilate in the world of letters. They always hung about him most impertinently when coquetting with lords and ladies: whilst at this very moment his better muse was kindling more genial aspirations. She thus breaks out before his patron:

'Fired with a thousand raptures I survey  
 Eridanus through flowery meadows stray,  
 The king of floods! that rolling o'er the plains,  
 Yon towering Alps of half their moisture drains,  
 And proudly full with a whole winter's snows,  
 Distributes wealth and plenty as he flows.'



It was now the Christmas of 1701, when he received advice from his friends that 'he was pitched upon to attend Prince Eugene, who had just begun the war in Italy, as secretary from his majesty.' How the noise and bustle of camps would have suited so nervous and sensitive a poet there was not an opportunity of judging, since the death of King William speedily extinguished all immediate hopes and prospects. His pension also dried up, through the same catastrophe; his friends withdrew from power at home; certain pecuniary obligations at Oxford recurred more forcibly than ever to his memory; his fellowship and allowance afforded but scanty supplies for expensive travels; nor can we at all quarrel with him, if what Swift intimated were correct; namely, that he became 'tutor to a squire.' How painfully must the prejudices of aristocracy be interwoven into the very web and texture of our national mind, to render apologies and palliatives welcome, or at least apparently proper, in laying plain statements of this sort before the public. We venture to admire a young man who disdains to press upon the bounty of others; and who had rather undertake the office of tuition or guardianship than eat the bread or wear the livery of idle dependence. His executors and admirers have deemed it right to throw a veil over Addison in his adversity; so that we can merely infer, from indirect sources of information, that his spirits neither permanently sank, nor would he relinquish the plan of enlarging his knowledge of mankind. We find him telling his lively acquaintance, Mr. Dashwood, who had sent him the present of a snuff box, that, notwithstanding his disappointments, he 'could no more accept of it without returning his acknowledgments, than he could venture upon its contents without sneezing afterwards.' Switzerland and Germany, too, attracted him to turn away, from what could not be helped, towards that which might be improved. He visited every one of the Swiss cantons, and thence laid up stores of historical information. His love of lake and wood, and even glacier, grew more fervent and genuine, as narrow means forced him to tear away the conventionalisms from the realities of life. His wit seemed to play upon the objects around, just as we have witnessed the summer lightning in those countries flashing through the gloom of an evening sky, and rendering the very darkness beautiful. In most places he found or formed fresh friendships. Before reaching Vienna he had prepared the greatest portion of his 'Dialogues upon Medals.' Prague, Dresden, and the majority of the petty protestant Courts beyond the Rhine, came in for their share in his political, literary, or classical investigation. Of Bohemia, he could say little more than that, 'in January, it abounds very much in snow. If it has any other beauties in it, this is not a time of year to look

for them, when almost every thing we see is of the same colour ; scarce any thing we meet with, *except our sheets and napkins*, not being white !' There are some jocular allusions to Bacchus, which must not be scanned with too much severity ; for although we wish they would not occur, we feel satisfied they are nothing more than an unbecoming concurrence with the prevalent habits of expression amongst honourable and right honourable sots and semi-savages. Nothing whatever appears to have impaired his morals, or lowered his self-respect. Whilst in Holland, the offer was transmitted him, through Jonson, of the tutorship to Lord Hertford, eldest son of that Duke of Somerset, known in our peerage as the Proud ! His grace, extravagant to the utmost degree of profuseness in all other respects, held out the magnificent remuneration of one hundred guineas per annum ; which Addison expressed his willingness to accept, mean and inadequate as it was, provided the appointment were to open some door of promotion through the Duke's well known interest at court. All this was intimated to the haughty magnate in an admirable letter for the purpose ; but of which the politeness failed to do any thing beyond conveying the deepest offence, since its respectful tone had no alliance either with servility or flattery. Our young traveller might have made the discovery then, had he never made it before, that the natural heart of an aristocracy has all the hardness of adamant, without one gleam of its beauty. The melancholy tidings awaited him at Amsterdam that his father had departed ; so that filial duty summoned him at once to his native shores. It is but justice to our authoress that we should favour our readers with a specimen of her style and tact in so agreeably blending biography and history together.

' Almost immediately on his return from the continent, Addison had the honour of being elected a member of the celebrated Kitcat Club ; that distinguished assemblage, in which the great nobility and landed gentry, composing the strength of the whig party, mingled with the more celebrated of the wits and men of letters, who supported the same principles with their pens. What might be the feelings of his grace the Duke of Somerset, on first meeting in such a society him whose services he had thought proper to estimate at so mean a rate, we do not find ; but, amidst all these social distinctions, no substantial improvement had yet taken place in the condition of Addison. Without a profession, and unprovided as yet of [with] any public appointment, he still found himself in his thirty-third year dependent on a diligent pen for the means of a scanty and precarious subsistence. The prospects of his party, however, and consequently his own, were now so evidently heightening, that whatever anxieties might press upon him, it was by no means a time to throw up the game of ambition in despair.

' In the first months of the reign of Anne, the discomfiture of the whigs had been complete. Hastening without reflection to the full

gratification of her tory predilections, the queen had given her political confidence chiefly to her relative the Earl of Rochester; and the management of ecclesiastical affairs, together with the direction of her own conscience, to Sharp, Archbishop of York, a leader of the high-church party. But the essential contrariety between the principles of Anne and her position; a very real, though an obscure and seldom mentioned source of the unceasing struggles of contending factions which raged around her to her dying hour,—had now begun to make itself felt. The war, which she had declared against Louis XIV., on his proclaiming the Pretender king of England, could by possibility appear, even to her dim intellect, in no other light, than as that of a contest for her own crown and the Protestant succession, against the claims of her brother and the principle of right divine; and the obvious inference could scarcely escape her, that in such a quarrel, the champions of revolution principles were the only supporters on whom she could place a secure reliance. Nor was there wanting one about her, by whom suggestions of this nature would be zealously and effectually enforced. It is now matter of history, that the wife of Marlborough had already begun to exert in favour of whig ascendancy the absolute sway, which she at this time held over the mind of her mistress, as well as her powerful interest with her husband, and his ally, Godolphin.'—Vol. i. pp. 163—6.

These circumstances, together with the successes of Marlborough, for some years put toryism out of countenance at court. The battle of Blenheim threw an unenlightened nation into such ecstasies, that even cabinet councillors demanded memorials more permanent than a gazette for their blood-stained laurels. Godolphin met Lord Halifax, and inquired for a bard; when his lordship, reproaching the treasurer with his neglect of literary merit in general, directed him to Joseph Addison. The latter then lived in a very small apartment, up three pair of stairs, over a little shop in the Haymarket; where he was surprised next morning by a personal visit from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who acquainted him that the prime minister had 'already made him one of the commissioners of appeal in the Excise, but intreated him to look upon that post as an earnest only of something more considerable.' From this moment his fortunes mounted up. He immediately began his famous 'Campaign,' without descending from his garret; where, with a conception rather felicitous than poetical, he composed all the verses, down to the simile of the angel, and then sent them to his new patrons. Lord Godolphin, although devoted to the turf at Newmarket, felt considerable interest in his recent nomination; and was anxious that the idea of his being what Tickell calls, 'a fine judge of poetry,' should suffer no damage. Hence it was with immense gratification that he found his favourite general, on the field of conflict, and amidst his triumphs over the French, thus illustrated:—



' So when an angel, by Divine command,  
 With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,  
 Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,  
 Calm and serene he drives the furious blast ;  
 And, pleased the Almighty's orders to perform,  
 Rides on the whirlwind, and directs the storm.'

The sale of this work produced solid pudding as well as empty praise to its author, who conscientiously applied all his first pecuniary receipts to the liquidation of his debts at college. Fair interest was also added. And when we compare his conduct, in these respects, with that of Coleridge, and some other modern men of genius, it can hardly fail, we think, to elevate him in our esteem. His *Travels in Italy* were now also published 'in a small and modest volume.' The name of Lord Somers headed the dedication; and if some have complained, that at first the book was 'indifferently relished,' we are only the better pleased to perceive that Addison could raise the level of public taste so soon as he did; for, before a second edition appeared, such an augmented demand sprang up for it, that the price actually quintupled in the literary market. Le Clerc, as a critic, diffused Addison's fame over the Continent, whilst at the same time he corrected his mistakes with the judgment and consideration of a watchful friend. At the noblest tables none could be more courted or admired. Swift, Gay, and Lady Mary Wortley Montague, bear their united testimony to the unparalleled charms of his conversation. Steele, who perhaps knew him to the very core of his inner man, recalls with rapture the smiling mirth and genteel raillery which for years had enlivened their happy hours of companionship. 'He was above all men in that talent we call humour, and enjoyed it in such perfection, that I have often reflected, after a night spent with him apart from all the world, that I had had the pleasure of conversing with an intimate acquaintance of Terence and Catullus, who possessed all their wit and nature, heightened with humour more exquisite and delightful than any beside could ever exhibit.' Pope, who sneered at his bashfulness in mixed company, admits that where this was once put aside, Addison had no equal amongst his familiar friends. Even the presence of a single stranger would indeed often throw him 'upon preserving his dignity by a stiff silence.' Yet, as Young observes, no sooner did he really begin to talk, or, as he would himself term it, 'think aloud,' than he became full of vivacity, and would go on 'in a noble stream of thought and language, so as to chain the attention of every one to him.' Such remarks remind us of what we once read at Naples, on a monument, to another late classical traveller, John Chetewood Eustace,—*Qui semel auditor semper amicus erat.* The prince of

our lighter Essay won the hearts of most among those who heard him; nor had any eminent individual in his day either more friends or fewer enemies. Early in 1706, by the recommendation of Lord Godolphin, he was appointed Under Secretary of State to Sir Charles Hedges; the last being soon superseded by the Earl of Sunderland. Halifax also took him, in his suite, to Hanover, when sent thither from Anne, with the Order of the Garter for her successor. No emolument attended this journey, although, of course, each fresh opportunity of inspecting and analyzing any portion of European society must have afforded its peculiar advantages. He now composed his opera of *Rosamond*; assisted Tickell with his friendship, as a reward for his poetical eulogy upon that drama, and also helped Steele in the comedy of the *Tender Husband*. But there lay a happier destiny in store for him than could be ever furnished from any second-rate associations with the theatre. About the same period we discover the earlier traces of his connexion with the Warwick family.

It produces, as may well be conceived, no blush upon our cheeks, to admit the correctness of what has always been the current report, that Addison, wanting a pupil, and the last earl of the line of Rich wanting a tutor, the parties came together accordingly in these respective capacities. What was there to be ashamed of, we must again ask, in a relationship thus mutually honourable? The young noble, and his mother, whom Addison afterwards married, could have fallen in with no one better calculated to win the passions over, towards at least harmlessness of life, than the writer of the two following authentic letters, first given to the world by Curl:—

‘My Dear Lord,—I have employed the whole neighbourhood in looking after birds’ nests, and not altogether without success. My man found one last night, but it proved to be that of a hen, with fifteen eggs in it, covered with an old broody duck, which may satisfy your lordship’s curiosity a little, though I am afraid the eggs will be of small use to us. This morning I have news brought me of a nest, which has abundance of little eggs, streaked with red and blue veins, that, by the description they give me, must make a very beautiful figure on a string. My neighbours are very much divided in their opinions upon them: some say they belong to a skylark, others will have them to be a canary bird’s; but I am much mistaken in the turn and colour of the eggs, if they are not full of tomtits. If your lordship does not make haste, I am afraid they will be birds before you see them; for, if the account they give me of them be true, they cannot have above two days more to reckon.

‘Since I am so near your lordship, methinks, after having passed the day among more severe studies, you may often take a trip hither, and

relax yourself with the little curiosities of nature. I assure you, no less a man than Cicero commends the two great friends of his age, Scipio and Lælius, for entertaining themselves at their country-houses, which stood on the sea-shore, with picking up cockle-shells, and looking after birds' nests. For which reason I shall conclude this learned letter with a saying of the same author, in his treatise on Friendship:—'*Absint autem tristitia, et in omni re severitas: habent illa quidem gravitatem; sed amicitia debet esse lenior et remissior, et ad omnem suavitatem facilitatemque morum proclivior.*' If your lordship understands the elegance and sweetness of these words, you may assure yourself you are no ordinary Latinist: but if they have force enough to bring you to Sandy End, I shall be very much pleased.—I am, my dear lord, your most affectionate and humble servant, J. ADDISON.—May 20, 1708.'

'My dearest Lord,—I cannot forbear being troublesome to your lordship whilst I am in your neighbourhood. The business of this is to invite you to a concert of music, which I have found out in an adjacent wood. It begins precisely at six in the evening, and consists of a black-bird, a thrush, a robinredbreast, and a bullfinch. There is a lark, too, that by way of overture sings and mounts till she is almost out of hearing; and afterwards, falling down, leisurely drops to the ground, as soon as she has ended her song. The whole is concluded by a nightingale, that has a much better voice than Mrs. Tofts, and something of the Italian manner in her divisions. If your lordship will honour me with your company, I will promise to entertain you with much better music, and more agreeable scenes, than ever you met with at the opera; and will conclude with a charming description of a nightingale out of our friend Virgil—'*Qualis populeâ,*' &c.—J. ADDISON—May 27, 1708.'

The under-secretary was, at this time, passing his evenings out of town, in hired country lodgings at Sandy End, a hamlet of Fulham; where, putting all matters together, our authoress seems rightly 'reduced to the conclusion, that the mediocrity of his official emoluments, and still more, perhaps, his continual apprehension of losing them, persuaded Addison, to submit to such sacrifice of his official dignity as might be involved in accepting, as a kind of family friend, the general direction, or superintendence only, of the education of a nobleman. The letters themselves are beautiful models of the style of an accomplished man condescending to the inclinations of a child whom he loved, and whose improvement he was anxious to promote.' Doubtless, too, he had already set his affections upon the Countess; to whose heart there could be no nearer avenue discovered, than so charming a manifestation of cordial interest in her offspring.

Before, however, the statesman might aspire to such an alliance, there were many vicissitudes to intervene. Sarah, the haughty wife of Marlborough, had introduced into the royal closet a supplanter of her own ascendancy. The duchess counted too far upon the sorcery of a strong mind over a weak one; not



remembering, that other persons exist in this sublunary scene, beside sovereigns and some single favourite. The queen, who could be humbled at the feet of one bedchamber woman, might choose, at any given moment, to rest an aching and empty head upon the lap of another. So it proved at the present crisis; for Mrs. Masham was interposing her apron between the court of St. James and the camps of the Allies. Providence appears often to humble both individual and national pride, by the insignificance of the instrument, which may be permitted to produce mighty changes. A goose is said to have rescued the Roman capitol from the Gauls; and a base female parasite accelerated the Peace of Utrecht. Harley and Bolingbroke were already at the door plotting for the total discomfiture of all the whigs. The result is well known. Addison in vain put forth his pamphlets on the 'State of the war, and the necessity of an augmentation of forces.' In vain Cowper held fast the seal, with Sunderland, Somers, Orford, and Godolphin around him. Toryism urged its sovereign, from the assailable quarter of her old prejudices, to complete without delay her entire emancipation; by which was meant, precisely what was intended two summers ago, in a similar demand made by Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues, that the queen should hand over to their exclusive custody the sweet hive of office, with all the honey in it! When Sunderland, in 1708, had to give way to Lord Dartmouth, the Under Secretary, dismissed together with his principal, found refuge under the Earl of Wharton, then appointed Lieutenant of Ireland. This magnate had hewn out a way to power, by expending no less a sum than 80,000*l.* in maintaining his parliamentary interest, which at one important juncture enabled him to nominate thirty members to the House of Commons! Let the idolaters of the Revolution of 1688 pause, and ponder over the period of their complacency thus faithfully illustrated. The viceroy was a profligate libertine, and a tolerable whig, in that he could just condescend to endure sectaries whilst they held their tongues, whilst he could never, upon any single occasion, bring himself to admit a Roman Catholic into his presence! Addison served under him as chief secretary from 1708 to 1710, transacting much of his public business in London; having been returned to Parliament for Malmsbury; entirely failing as an orator in the House after one attempt, which he never had the courage to renew; but so far securing his position in the personal esteem of Anne, that on 'his departure for Dublin she conferred upon him the office of Keeper of the Records there, raising the salary of the place to 300*l.* per annum, for his encouragement.' The victory at Malplaquet still kept the whig administration apparently in the saddle, although its vi-

talities, under the last of the Stuarts, was ebbing fast; so that had its innate folly, in the matter of Sacheverel, not hurled it to the ground, it could not have held the reins of government much longer. Addison, however, had commenced a nobler pursuit than defiling himself in court intrigues and mere political squabbles. His friend Steele, with whom he had already quarrelled and become reconciled again, started the *Tatler* in the early part of 1709, towards which the Irish Secretary 'imparted in the beginning hints alone and sketches, but afterwards entire papers, some of them finished specimens of his best manner.'

The times were favourable to the design; although we cannot agree with our biographer, that 'the last remains of the social fabric of the feudal ages had been swept away.' Its pillars and arches yet subsist amongst us; not only as ornaments mantled in venerable ivy, to be surveyed upon a holiday,—for to that we should have no objection; but its pressure,—its interference,—its iron hand,—are all still felt both by crown and people. Certain, however, it is, that 'the superstructure of manners, uniting manliness with mildness and grace, and the charms of ease and freedom, with due obedience to salutary laws and checks, was deficient.' Party spirit of British growth, and elaborate folly of foreign extraction, had rendered the features of society in these kingdoms, to no slight degree, either rude and violent, artificial or impure, or, too frequently, all these together. French libertinism towards the fair sex, to omit the habits of inebriety customary even at court, from the days of James and Charles, maintained its sway over the upper classes. The lower ones were more ignorant and benighted than they are now; whilst in the middle ranks alone could be found, upon an extensive scale, the gravity and simplicity usually deemed indigenous to our national character. Voltaire, when in England, under George I., observed, that our countrymen were like their own strong ale,—frothy at top, muddy at bottom, with a centre sound, and heart whole. The lesser gentry, about the commencement of the seventeenth century, may well be imagined in the mind's eye as a fox-hunting, partridge-shooting, roistering crew, whose successors we know so well from the *Squire Western* of Fielding. Here and there was a Sir Charles Grandison, as if to make visible the general necessity of the case; for, 'on the whole, rich as was the age in men of wit, talents, learning, and accomplishments, it seems no great exaggeration to affirm, that the true gentleman, in the highest sense of the term, was a character scarcely extant.' Female education must have been rare indeed, if the idea attached to that phrase is to extend much beyond the routine of our lower charity schools at present. Many were taught to read, some to write, few to cypher, all to

make puddings, fatten pork, and find the grand sphere of their usefulness between the kitchen and the pantry. Wherever the homely occupations of the good housewife were despised, there was nothing to substitute beyond the 'dissipation, the idleness, the silly airs and affectations of the beauty and coquette; or, according to the phrase then fashionable, the *fine lady*.' Alas, for the good old times, as we have lived to hear them called, of the *beaux* and *belles*; which, in reality, meant rakes and fools. Steele, under such circumstances, published his 'Tatler,' three times a week, commencing on the 22nd of April, 1709; and in about two months succeeded the 'Spectator;' 'a series of essays,' says Johnson, 'of the same kind, but written with less levity, upon a more regular plan, and published daily.' England had as yet, if the writers for the theatre are excepted, no masters of common life. No writers had yet undertaken to reform 'either the savageness of neglect, or the impertinence of civility; to shew when to speak, or to be silent; how to refuse, or how to comply. A judge of propriety was wanting, who should survey the track of daily conversation, and free it from thorns and prickles, which tease the passer, though they do not wound him. The personages, introduced into the Tatlers and Spectators were not merely ideal; they were then known and conspicuous in various stations. Of these portraits, which may be supposed to be sometimes embellished, and sometimes aggravated, the originals were now partly known, and partly forgotten; but all were happily varied with elegant fictions and refined allegories, and illuminated with different changes of style, and felicities of invention.' Steele, in summoning Addison to his aid, compared himself to a distressed prince, who calls in a powerful neighbour to assist him. He was undone by his auxiliary; in which, however, he had the rare magnanimity to rejoice, with a cordiality and frankness of confession, which go far towards covering a multitude of minor faults in his own extravagant and unequal career. The two friends, assisted by Swift and a number of others, rode forth upon the strength of wit and humour against all sorts of barbarism, ruggedness, and rusticity. Steele wielded weapons, of which the edge and point were pathos and force; but it must be allowed that they were of a coarser texture than those of his great colleague. The latter seemed to carry the enchanted scimitar of Saladin, which would sweep off the head of an adversary, or divide in twain the flimsiest veil of folly, as it floated like a vapour through the air. 'If in the Tatler he had given excellent specimens of his power of humorous delineation, as in the proceedings of the Court of Honour and the Political Upholsterer,—in the Spectator, besides adding largely to the number of his draughts, and varying them with admirable



fertility of invention, he produced in *SIR ROGER DE COVERLEY* a finished comic character, which had no model in our language, and which, in the delicacy of its touches, Fielding never equalled.' A long list might also be given of those beautiful allegories with which he so fascinated the imaginations of his young contemporaries, that truths the most sublime, as well as touching, seemed to steal a march upon the passions and depravity of our fallen nature; such as the *Tuns of Jupiter*, the *Mountain of Miseries*, and the highly poetical yet admirably conceived *Vision of Mirza*. We venture to consider the last as superior to all that Pope, or Dryden, or Swift, or Parnell, ever dreamed of in their most fortunate moments. Amongst his more delightful fancy pieces of a comic and somewhat satirical kind, Miss Aikin has enumerated those upon the '*Freezing of Words*,'—the '*Lover's Leap*,'—'*Shallum and Hilpah*.' His critical papers on the drama; on true and false wit; on '*Paradise Lost*,' and on the '*Pleasures of the Imagination*,' are said to have formed readers rather than writers; which was in effect precisely what their author had in view. His grand object was to reform the morals and manners of domestic life; and to do this well, there was no better way, in a mere intellectual sense we mean, than to interest women in his varied and sportive pages. He therefore adapted both his literature and philosophy to the general level of their capacities. Had he aimed at greater things, he would have far less manifested a correct apprehension of his peculiar vocation; nor would the means employed have proved half so nicely adapted to their purpose. The diurnal sale of the *Spectator* augmented rapidly, and brought in Addison very considerable supplies, at an emergency when they were much needed.

The whigs were out of power, and nearly so of office. At the general election, notwithstanding the unpopularity of the war, Addison was rechosen for Malmsbury; if that might be called a choice, where Lord Wharton and the Rushout family nominated the members. He also exerted himself with unusual vigour in the *Whig Examiner*; with which, as against Harley and his faction, he encountered Swift and his coadjutors. Dr. Johnson growls a sort of suppressed insinuation that Addison grasped with rather too itching a palm at his share of literary emoluments. But it must be recollected that he had neither pension nor patrimony at that moment to fall back upon. He tells his correspondent, Wortley Montague, that he had lost a place of £2,000 per annum, together with an estate worth £14,000 in the Indies, besides his mistress. The last allusion may glance at the impossibility of his indulging hope, until better days arrived, of connecting himself with the Countess of Warwick. Of his lost es-

tate we now know nothing; but his Irish place was, somehow or other, preserved to him, until he obtained permission to sell it. This, together with large profits from the rise of stocks, in which he had probably invested some savings for the last few years, enabled him to preserve his position; and as his favorite periodical became more and more profitable, he even purchased the house and lands of Bilton, near Rugby, for £10,000; his 'brother Gulstone, however, assisting him with an advance, though we know not to what amount.' Prudence, in pecuniary matters, never forsook him; for he had learned how to practice it, as well as preach it in the story of Eudoxus and Leontine. It may be doubted whether he possessed any genuine love for political subjects; so that he must have watched the revolutions around him, as portions of his duty, more than as those of preference. Jonathan Swift, who wore himself hoarse in declaiming against party spirit, evinced a much larger share of it in his own acrimonious temper, than his competitor had ever done in all his pamphlets. The latter professed it to be one great purport of his efforts 'to furnish the public with less irritating topics of thought and conversation.' He wished to cultivate the taste of his admirers upon classical and correct principles, in order that they might become less disposed to quarrel amongst themselves about names and trifles. His standard of good taste was that of which common sense is the law, and Horace the expounder of it, according to our authoress: nor do we conceive her statements can, with consistency, be controverted. Gentleness also formed one main ingredient in his mind; so that in holding up all objects, whether for his own edification, or the entertainment of his readers, their reflection fell upon the surface of an unruffled mirror. With such a man, therefore, our modern Zoilus, who *loved a good hater*, could have little affinity; hence he has misrepresented his history, and frequently misjudged his talents. 'The style of Addison,' observes Anna Barbauld, 'is pure and clear, rather diffuse than concentrated, and ornamented to the highest degree consistent with good taste. But this ornament consists in the splendour of imagery, not in the ordonnance of words: his readers will seek in vain for those sonorous cadences with which the public ear has been familiarized since the writings of Dr. Johnson. They will find no stately magnificence of phrase, no trials of sentences artfully balanced, so as to form a sweep of harmony at the close of a period. His words are genuine English, he deals little in inversions, and often allows himself to conclude negligently with a trivial word. The fastidious ear may occasionally be offended with some colloquial phrases, and some expressions, which would not now, perhaps, be deemed perfectly accurate; the remains of barbarisms, which

he, more than any one, had laboured to banish from good writing ; but the best judges have doubted whether our language has not lost more than it has gained since his time. An idiomatic style gives a truth and spirit to a composition, that is but ill compensated by an elaborate pomp which sets written composition at too great a distance from speech, for which it is only the substitute.' Nor can we forbear adding to these judicious remarks, that the fair flock of *authoresses* who have for the last half century resorted, like swans, to the banks and streams of our literature, would have never attained to their present goodly numbers, nor to their almost universal excellence, had not such writers as Addison invited them thither through his elegant attractiveness ; and taught them, when there, how to instruct others, without the slightest particle of detraction from the delicacy of their sex and character. It has fallen worthily to the lot of a lady to rescue his memory from neglect, and adorn his immortal name with the graces of an impartial biography.

Whilst the fame of the *Spectator* advanced to maturity, its chief contributor lodged at Kensington, probably to be as near as possible to Holland House, where the Countess of Warwick then resided. His intercourse with Whiston, Clarke, Berkeley, Pope, Budgell, Tickell, and the other reigning stars, we are compelled to pass over ; as also his famous quarrel with the spiteful author of the *Essay on Criticism*. His tragedy of *Cato*, which, like Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley*, had been thrust aside into a drawer for years, was completed and performed in London in April, 1713. Were every thing conceived to fall from the skies into exactly the niche or conjuncture most suited to its success, there would have been no room for marvel at what ensued. But as it turned out, the heat of the political atmosphere, the rank and reputation of the poet, the combination of good acting and histrionic zeal, connected as these were with real merit in the play itself, altogether produced such an effect as has rarely been paralleled. Its run lasted for upwards of thirty nights, and then stopped only because one of the performers became incapable of acting a principal part. Its notoriety spread from the British metropolis all over Europe. The foreign theatres, however, could have scarcely enjoyed in a translation the genuine secret of its success at home. This lay in the factious emulations of the two great political sections of society. 'The whigs applauded every line in which liberty was mentioned, as a satire upon the tories ; and these re-echoed every clap, to show that the satire was unfelt.' The Queen honoured its author with a message, expressive of the pleasure she should receive should he think proper to dedicate it to her Majesty. Oxford, moreover, was gratified with the second-hand triumphs of Drury Lane ; when



that bigoted university forgot, as it often forgets, academic decency, and positively invested the playhouse, from noon until evening, in a struggle for accommodation. Dennis produced his not unjust, yet malignant animadversions, to the public in a state of effervescence. Envy was for once like the deaf adder, at least until the tempest of applause had exhausted itself into some approximation to calmness. Addison is said by Mrs. Porter to have wandered behind the scenes in restless and unappeasable anxiety throughout the first representation. 'Many of the fine thoughts and pointed expressions with which the piece abounds still circulate amongst us, like current coin; though often now passed, it may be supposed, with little thought or knowledge of the mint which issued them.' Its subsequent sale must have been amply productive. A French version speedily appeared. Salvini paraphrased it into Italian for the benefit of Florence. The jesuits of St. Omers had it performed in Latin by their pupils. Every capital of the civilized world has witnessed the stoicism of the expiring Roman, without excepting even the audiences of St. Petersburg and Moscow. Addison is really supposed to have courted applause: he must now have been surfeited with it.

When Booth, the celebrated actor, was playing Cato, Lord Bolingbroke sent for him into his box, and gave him fifty guineas for defending the cause of liberty so well 'against a perpetual dictator:' glancing at the protracted sway of the Duke of Marlborough; or rather at his attempt to be made Captain-General for life, of which the patent, actually drawn up, had been stopped by Lord Cowper. Such an instance of hypocrisy might at least be then said to have preserved the unities of place and time; for meanwhile, the infidel statesman was secretly whetting his dagger for the heart of his country. The Peace of Utrecht, announced to Parliament in April, 1713, neither satisfied the nation nor strengthened the ministry. Certain commercial articles in the treaty provoked especial agitation; and Addison drew up his allegory of the Lawsuit between Count Tariff and Goodman Fact, which may 'still be read with pleasure, for its ingenuity, its humour, and happy colloquialisms of its style.' Steele was at this time expelled the House of Commons for the Crisis, which he had dared to publish in the teeth of the new enactments against libels. His able defence, delivered from memory, had been the joint work of his old friend and Walpole. Meanwhile Bolingbroke was gradually undermining Harley in the councils of his mistress; and it occurred to him that it might be worth the trial, attempting to allure such a keen satirist, as the member for Malmsbury, to his party. The object, however, of his blandishments politely, yet effectually, repulsed

them. His Treatise on the Evidences of Christianity had been commenced, assuming indeed little more than a fragmentary form, in which state it was discovered on his death. The Spectator having paused in its career, Steele, ever fertile in projects, started the Guardian, to the second volume of which Addison contributed fifty numbers; and when they had run their course, an eighth volume of the Spectator appeared between the months of June and December, in 1714. Anne was now manifestly going out of the world, and every eye was bent towards the throne of these realms. Had the son of James the Second possessed either ability or virtue, the struggle might have been more doubtful; for the queen, in her folly, favoured his cause. 'It was then suspected, and now stands on proof, that the same statesmen who, in the Treaty of Utrecht, had betrayed the interests of their country to France, had also embarked in a secret plot to surrender up their liberties, civil and religious, to a popish successor.' Prosecutions were stayed or quashed against Scotch Jacobites; Roman emissaries returned to England with audacious confidence; the friends of the Stuarts began to disdain disguise; they celebrated the birthday of the Pretender in various places, and even levies of men were made expressly for his service. Measures of the severest character were being aimed at the Nonconformists. Harley, at length, openly quarrelled with his colleague, and withdrew, or rather was expelled in disgrace, from the Cabinet, before influences still more baneful than his own. Whiggery pronounced certain talismanic words, which have ever been the watchcalls of its party; such as Liberty, Protestantism, and the like; but its genuine appreciation of these subjects was slight. Somers had faded into the mere shadow of a great name, and Marlborough had retired to the Continent. Bills and resolutions, however, had been carried through the House of Lords by Halifax, Wharton, and Sunderland, against the new enlistments; and an enactment of the peers, sanctioned only by a majority of one, declared active exertions in opposition to the Hanoverian succession high treason. Probably through Addison his associates had foreseen the importance of opening and maintaining direct communications between themselves and the electoral minister De Robethon. Yet it was, after all, more from the sudden demise of the crown than anything else, that the new Lord Treasurer had seized the white staff in vain. This happened before the preparations were complete for pushing back Great Britain and Ireland about half a century; so that on the 1st of August, immediately on the decease of the queen, George was proclaimed amidst tranquillity greater than on many former occasions, when the sceptre merely passed from one sovereign to another, without any change of

dynasty. The Lords Justices forthwith appointed Addison for their secretary, whose witty pen had scarcely ceased, for a considerable interval, in preparing the public mind to receive a German court. The silly story of his not being able to indite the official announcement to Hanover is extinguished by Miss Aikin, as incredible in itself, and contradicted by the fact, that Lord Dorset acted as a special messenger in person; which being the case, a common clerk would draw up, as a matter of course, the ordinary letter of credentials. He memorialized his majesty, however, on his own account, and after six weeks gratuitous exertions under the provisional government, Lord Sunderland nominated him to his old post of Chief Secretary for Ireland, which he retained until August, 1715. Its emoluments, nevertheless, fell far short of his expectations, through the absence of the Lieutenant; whilst at the same time our readers will be pleased at being told of an instance of his honest literary independence with regard to this period. Sunderland abhorred Swift, as well he might; nor had the Dean of St. Patrick's set any apparent value upon his old connection and friendship with the Irish Secretary. Yet the last would not listen for a moment to an attempted exaction on the part of Lord S., that he should shun the Dean's society. It was not his fault, therefore, that the demon of faction was not excluded from the republic of letters. The viceroy resigned in the August just preceding the Scotch rebellion; of which Addison, after the decisive action of Sheriff's Muir, and the disembarkation of Charles Edward, was employed to laugh and reason out the expiring embers. No better means could have been devised for the purpose than the publication of his *Freeholder*, of which the earliest paper appeared on the 23d of December. It continued to the 29th of June following, when the fifty-fifth number closed the series. In none of his works are the similes and illustrations more exquisitely felicitous and pungent. The *Tory Foxhunter*, the *Memoirs of a Preston Rebel*, the *Temple of Rebellion*, his *Disquisition on Government*, on the Death of Lord Somers, and his *General Appeals to the Fair Sex*, will always survive. The ministry rewarded him with one of the Commissionerships for Trade and Colonies, a lucrative sinecure, enabling him to marry the Countess of Warwick on the 2d of August, 1716.

There is not the slightest particle of evidence for Doctor Johnson's insinuations, that this was not a happy alliance. It seems to have proved just the reverse, if we may judge from the recorded conduct and sentiments of the husband himself, which at this distance of time, it is scarcely worth while to go into. Spence and Pope, between them, seem to have taken delight in scraping together scandalous gossip about an individual infinitely above both his detractors in amiability and morality of mind.



Their foolish anecdotes, therefore, from the Barring-out in Addison's boyhood, to his sottishness and imputed dissipation in riper years, may all be scattered towards the four winds of heaven. That he was once overtaken with wine, is clear; there is proof of it, and we admit it; but that he detested the practice, and was, in common parlance, what we call a sober and respectable man, is still plainer. This will be thought the more remarkable, when we remember the habits of that society in which circumstances compelled him to move; as well as his feeble health, which would render very slight degrees of excess almost immediately apparent. We feel persuaded, that none of our readers will misconceive our meaning. We have never considered Addison a religious man, in the sense which would now alone pass current amongst evangelical circles; but putting all things together, he appears to us as having about merited a place by the side of the author of 'Rasselas;' and no more. His religion had doubtless more to do with nature, gentleness of temper, and intellectual taste,—than with genuine apprehensions of the powers of the world to come.

From the period of his marriage, Holland House, at Kensington, became his principal residence; though he would never entirely forsake his own beloved Bilton. In April, 1717, on the dismissal of Lord Townshend, the Earl of Sunderland succeeded him as secretary of state, and named Addison as a colleague. No high office could perhaps have so little suited him. In the House of Commons, there was a padlock on his tongue;\* whilst a load of official duty prevented any literary excursions through the regions of politics or fancy. His physical frame, moreover, which had never been strong, received such a shock from the labours and midnight anxieties consequent upon his six weeks' secretaryship to the regency, after the death of Queen Anne, that he never thoroughly recovered it. The chief vestiges of his brief continuance, in what would now be termed the cabinet, are 'fits of illness.' At the end of eleven months, he resigned the seals, as also his sinecure; (its income he had already relinquished;) in lieu of which, the crown conferred on him a pension of 1500*l.* per annum. A tragedy on the death of Socrates; the prosecution of his work on the Evidences of Christianity; even an idea of entering the church for the sake of a bishopric, are amongst the projects now said to have been floating through his mind. Tonson, through Alexander Pope, reported the last; pettishly observing, that 'he always thought him a priest at his heart:' upon which Dr. Johnson

\* It is, however, not generally known, that he sometimes spoke in the Irish Parliament, in which he sat as member for Cavan. There were no Shiels or O'Connells 140 years ago.

remarks, with a not unamusing dryness,—‘A man, who had been secretary of state in the ministry of Sunderland, knew a nearer way to a bishopric, than by defending religion, or translating the Psalms!’ So severe a shaft, unintentionally and indirectly striking at all state establishments of Christianity, it has seldom been our lot to meet with, from such a quarter. It is also related, that he had once a design of compiling an English Dictionary, in which archbishop Tillotson was to figure as the *magnus Apollo*. Addison, however, was not to conclude his life in peaceful studies. The Peerage Bill, introduced by Sunderland and Stanhope, was attacked by Walpole in parliament, and Steele out of it. The latter endeavoured to rouse the nation in a pamphlet entitled the ‘Plebeian;’ to which the late secretary published an answer called, the ‘Old Whig.’ Both parties appear to have lost their temper, and not a few personalities were exchanged between the ‘once loving school-fellows, the college friends, the joyous, witty, companions,—the literary partners and mutual advisers, the associates in public business, the fellow members of the House of Commons, the brothers in political opinion!’ Even Johnson avows, that such a controversy was *Bellum plus quam civile*, as Lucan expresses it; but it is not improbable, that some former pecuniary transactions, those fearful *irritamenta malorum*, between persons so differently constituted, had embittered their minds. Be that as it may, asthma and dropsy were rapidly hurrying the subject of this article to his last account. Having called Gay to his bedside, towards whom he had been cool for some years, he acknowledged that he had injured him, whilst he assured him that if life were spared he would make amends. This looks like self-examination upon conscientious and scriptural principles; and we heartily trust it was so. The anecdote mentioned by Young, that in his closing hours he summoned Lord Warwick ‘to see in what peace a Christian can die,’ finds little favour in the sight of our authoress. She deems it to have been both ‘pompous and theatrical:’ in which we differ from her, although by no means receiving the story *as of itself sufficient proof* that the expiring moralist, in thus putting off his mortal tabernacle, was clothed in the righteousness of his Redeemer, and altogether in a right mind. With this we have nothing to do; but to represent facts, and then limit our expressed\* inferences, so as to forbear any unseemly intrusiveness into regions beyond the grave. It is with the living rather than the dead that our province lies, when the portals of eternity have closed. His remains lay in state at the Jerusalem Chamber, on the 26th of June, 1719, nine days after his decease on the 17th of the same month at Holland House. Westminster Abbey finally received them in that well known corner, where his monument

now stands. His only surviving child, Charlotte, inherited Bilton, and resided there to her death, at a very advanced age, in 1797. 'The house, a spacious but irregular structure, is entered by iron gates, that lead to a venerable porch; it contains a number of fine apartments, and stands in a retired spot, commanding several beautiful prospects. The furniture and paintings have been as little altered as possible from their original state. The same may be said of the gardens, which are extensive, with all the formality of long straight lines and yew hedges. Two pieces of water are in the lower parts of the grounds, with sequestered seats beside them. In the northern division there is a long walk, formerly the chosen retreat of the Spectator, rendered accordant to his meditative mind by some deep Spanish oaks, said to have been sown by his own hand.' Such was an old description of the spot forty years ago, when the library was sold, and before the axe had levelled some of the best plantations. We cannot forbear observing, that in these associations of his name with silvan scenery, there seems strong evidence of the deeply affectionate interest with which his countrymen have regarded his memory. We value them more than the marble memorial raised by general subscription, about ninety years after he had been withdrawn from us. His character will mainly rest, of course, upon his writings, illustrated moreover by the singularly *extorted* praise of contemporaries and successors. Johnson, Swift, Chesterfield, with several others, have left their suffrages in his favour, under the garb of most ungraceful reluctance. They would, evidently, like the prophet of Pethor, have cursed him if they could; yet, says the first of these, 'of his virtue, it is a sufficient testimony that the resentment of party has transmitted no charge of any crime;' and the second declared, after his election for Malmsbury, that such was his 'acknowledged merit, that if he had proposed himself for king, he would hardly have been refused!' Notwithstanding his conversational powers, there can be no question, but that he must have been often unpopular, and sometimes awkward: nor did he fail to admit an occasional deficiency in ready intellectual coin, when he laughingly said of his own mind, 'that he could draw bills for a thousand pounds, though he had now and then not a guinea in his pocket.'

We really feel very much obliged to Miss Aikin for her volumes. They are always elegant in their tone, instructive in their matter, and replete with a spirit of honest truthfulness. Her multifarious mistakes and omissions, in dates and minor points, each reader may correct for himself. It would be well if our speakers, preachers, and writers would return to more classical models of style than are at present in fashion. There are some admirable remarks of the late gifted Robert Hall, with regard to Cowper, apparently implying that Addison was not absent from



his mind, when he denounces all those vicious ornaments of style and diction, which may ultimately, if care be not taken, render our modes of expression more like the monsters of Ammianus Marcellinus than the chaste idioms of the Spectator. The greater advances we make in knowledge, the more careful we should become to preserve our channels of communication free from defilements. Language ought to be like light—a means of imparting visibility to thought without attracting any painful attention to the medium of its operations.

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Art. III. 1. *Report from the Select Committee on Fine Arts, together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 18th June, 1841.*

2. *Report of the Commissioners of Fine Arts, with Appendix, presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 1842.*

AMONG the questions that have interested mankind, few remain so far from a satisfactory solution as that which relates to the causes of the rise, progress, and decay of the Arts of Design. Neglected by the philosopher as beneath, and by the practical artist as beyond, the scope of his studies, the inquiry has occupied the attention of others less likely than either to throw light upon the subject, and has elicited opinions which perplex, no less by their inconsistency with themselves, than by their contradiction to each other.

Amidst these conflicting speculations as to the cause, there has been, however, a unanimous agreement in admitting the fact, that these arts have undergone a progressive deterioration throughout Europe since their development in Italy at the close of the fifteenth century.

Not satisfied with this admission, our countrymen, in common with several of our neighbours, and in accordance with the active and business-like habits of the age, have been recently much occupied in providing a practical remedy. In addition to the Royal Academy, and several well-intended efforts on the part of the public, the Government has been invoked to assist in restoring vitality to 'the dying art,' and has not been backward in responding to the call, as the documents named at the head of this article show.

The object of the Government in these inquiries, as well as in the plans resulting from them, has been to encourage in England a higher taste in the fine arts, and to produce works worthy of rivalling those of the great men who, living in different ages, and in countries distant from each other, have received in common the significant designation of the 'Old Masters.' Desirable as this object unquestionably is, and judicious, as appear to us,

the plans which have been proposed to carry that object into effect, we cannot participate in the expectation so generally entertained, that those plans will be successful in producing a School of Fine Arts amongst us. In no country, nor in any age, have governments created either taste in the public, or skill in the artist; and the patronage, whether of the legislature or of the people, has never exercised any considerable influence in originating the schools of painting which have successively arisen, flourished, and decayed in the various countries of Europe.

Well founded, however, as we hold this opinion to be, there is none, we believe, more likely in these days to be disputed. On all hands, by the public, by the artist, and by the government, it seems to have been taken for granted, that, if opportunity were only afforded by extended patronage, the arts would arise invigorated from the sleep of ages; that mediocrity in small works would grow to excellence in larger; that powers which had been unable to cope with the great masters in familiar and domestic subjects, would better compete with them in historical composition; and, more wonderful still, that difficulties not overcome upon canvass would be mastered upon walls; and that works to be painted in fresco would supply all the deficiencies of works which had been painted in oil! It is with no desire to damp these expectations, however Quixotic they may be, but rather with a view to direct the attention of the artist and of the public to the real means of reviving a higher taste in the fine arts, that we are induced to lay before our readers the grounds of the opinion we have advanced. And here let us appeal to the history of art.

It is well known that, with the fall of Ancient Rome, painting and sculpture, which had till then been cultivated by the Greeks, were swept away; the pictures perished, with few and unimportant exceptions; the statues which escaped destruction remained for centuries buried and forgotten under the ruins of the empire; so that when, upon the revival of letters, men began again to turn their attention to these arts, their first attempts, unassisted by either models or instruction, were excessively feeble and constrained. We may learn from these essays both how little the isolated efforts of man can accomplish, and how much. The successors of these first adventurers not only availed themselves of their narrow patrimony, but adding something of their own acquirement, left a richer inheritance to the generation which followed them. Thus, from step to step, the arts advanced by regular and well-marked stages of progression, until what Cimabue had commenced, and Giotto and Masaccio carried forward, was perfected at length by Michael Angelo, Raffael, and Lionardo, Titian, and Correggio. These five flourished in the

same era, and in different parts of the same country; and although in a great measure independent of each other, stood all in the same relation, both to the interval that had elapsed since the first revival of the art, and the other general circumstances under which they had engaged in the pursuit. The several schools also which had been rendered illustrious by the celebrity of these great masters, and which, both by their precept and example had been conducted to the climax of excellence, continued when left to themselves to pursue their labours under nearly equal advantages. And these, too, followed each the particular path in which they had been trained, without exercising any considerable influence on the others. But that path was no longer upwards. Step by step the arts had ascended, step by step they declined. They went forward, indeed, but always downwards; for it is observable that there was not in any instance a return to the stiffness or feebleness which obscured the merit of the more ancient masters; but in each case the vice which supervened was of the opposite character. Principle degenerated into receipt, style into manner; facility produced licentiousness, and licentiousness dwindled into imbecility. Less than a century sufficed to obliterate the grandeur of Michael Angelo and the expression of Raffael, while the colouring of Titian shared the same fate with the chiaro-scuro of Correggio, and the design of Lionardo. Now, we ask, how do these facts support the assertion, that excellence in the fine arts is produced by patronage? It will be said, Look at the early frescos of Pisa, of Padua, of Assisi, at the Stanze of Raffael, at the Sistine Chapel, at the altar-pieces throughout Italy. We reply: true it is there was patronage, rich and abundant patronage—patronage by the pope—patronage by the civil governments—patronage by the cloister, and by the people. But if that patronage produced the rise of these arts, what produced the decline? Patronage did not cease when the great masters died. The age which followed affords evidence of this, in the number of works which were executed by their scholars. And the vast crowd of pictures by inferior and now forgotten artists of a later age, which fill the palaces, the churches, and the cloisters of Italy, compel us to adopt the conclusion, that under some circumstances even the patronage of a whole nation may be exerted without producing a single painter or a single work of which that nation might be proud. On the same ground we must reject the hypothesis, that the superiority of the ancient artists is to be attributed to the religion of Italy. The history of the Reformation affords abundant evidence that Romanism in that country was in their day just what it continues to be in our own; nothing else than scepticism, under a thin disguise, on the part of the educated



classes, and a gross idolatrous superstition, without any disguise, on the part of the ignorant. If then, we ask again, Romanism produced the artistic superiority of the fifteenth century, what has occasioned the mediocrity of the present day? In the same manner we shall dismiss the supposed influence of the Italian climate, to which marvellous properties have sometimes been attributed in reference to this subject. For if soft breezes or a serene sky were so efficacious in that age, why have the same things become so inoperative in our own?

After the death of the five great masters whom we have named, and the decline of the schools which succeeded them, the art of painting seemed hastening to its extinction in Rome, Florence, Parma, Milan, and Venice, the localities where those schools had flourished; when suddenly, towards the close of the sixteenth century, a revival took place in Bologna, under the impulse given by the Carracci: and soon after a similar impulse was given by Rubens in Flanders, by Poussin in France, and by Velasquez in Spain. It is remarkable that these masters of the second era appeared and flourished as independently of each other as had done those of the first; and yet the various schools which they established, as if in obedience to an inevitable law, all rapidly underwent the selfsame process of deterioration and decay. In this age, however, as in the former, no sudden access of patronage appears in any case to have preceded the appearance of the revived art, and no withdrawal of that patronage can be shown to have occasioned the subsequent decline. Leaving, therefore, this part of the subject, we will now endeavour to show what have been the efficient causes of the rise of the arts in the two signal eras to which we have alluded, as well as of that remarkable decline which has, with little exception, continued during the whole interval between the latter of those eras and our own.

The arts of design have their source in that sense of beauty, which, however the metaphysicians may have perplexed the matter, the world has long decided to be a deep-seated element of our nature,—in that sense, by which we perceive and relish the beauty of form, whether animal, vegetable, or architectural, the exquisite colouring of external nature, and the varying modulations of light and shadow by which the charms of that colouring are so much enhanced. The business of the artist is to investigate diligently the causes of our pleasure in these things, in order that he may reproduce that pleasure by creations of his own. So great is the labour required in this search after the principles of art, and so great the effort necessary to apply those principles to practice, that he who would achieve success in this pursuit must not only possess qualifications of an extraordinary

nature, but be impelled by a stimulus of the most urgent kind. Such a stimulus might easily be presumed to be, that very love of beauty to which we have referred, and which is found to exist in some persons with great intensity. Such also might be the love of fame, a passion so influential in the heart of man. But whilst we find, in fact, that both these elements, and especially the former, enter into the character of every distinguished painter, they cannot be supposed to have been more influential in one generation than in another, and cannot therefore alone have produced that excellence which has appeared so seldom. The peculiar influence to which we attribute that excellence is the spirit of enterprise; and, to show the probability of this opinion, we request the attention of the reader to the following hypothesis.

We need not here advert to the various causes which contributed, on the revival of letters, to make Italy foremost among the countries of Europe in the race of advancing civilization. That priority, however occasioned, will naturally explain why Italians were the *first* successfully to investigate the principles of the fine arts. And being the first, it will be readily conceived that, in addition to the impulse of a passionate love of beauty, and the desire of fame, they would feel an intense excitement from the novelty of the enterprise in which they were engaged. Theirs would be somewhat like the sensations of Columbus when first he left the shores of Spain, or of Newton in the early dawn of his discoveries. This animating spirit of adventure would continue to impel generation after generation, so long as there remained any unexplored region of excellence, or any unattained degree of that excellence in the newly discovered realms of art. Nor would the ardour of the pursuit be checked, until the utmost limit permitted to the human mind had been attained. From this moment, one powerful stimulus being withdrawn, the mind of the artist would become more languid, and the art would of necessity decline.

This hypothesis will not only explain the remarkable splendour of the first era, when the arts attained an excellence never since equalled, but will also enable us to understand why the ideal beauty of the ancient sculptures, the only quality in which the early masters knew they had been anticipated, was the only quality they did not carry to perfection.

If, however, the stimulus of enterprise may be supposed to have assisted the rise, and the cessation of that stimulus to have introduced the decay of art, it is certain that this latter influence would be continually accelerated in its operation by another of a congenial nature. In all the localities where the schools of the great masters had been established, while the works of those masters would continue to be appealed to as the *standards* of

excellence, the successors of those masters would, at the same time, be regarded as the inheritors of the *principles* of their predecessors, and their instructions would be implicitly followed as the authorised tradition of the canons of art. Now, since tradition inevitably corrupts whatever it transmits, the authority of the living masters would, by degrees, run more and more counter to that of the dead, the mind of the artist would gradually be perverted, and the art would fall into decay. This living authority would, however, be less influential any where than at home; and we can therefore understand why in some other locality would first arise a spirit of independence sufficient to break the fetters of prescription. Men actuated by this spirit, looking on the decayed condition of the living schools, would eagerly seek, by a study of the ancient standards, to restore the lost principles of their illustrious authors. And this search, under circumstances both of difficulty and novelty, would naturally, a second time, require and excite the spirit of enterprise, in a degree not much inferior to that which animated the original inventors. Thus we find our hypothesis will explain no less the facts connected with the revival of art in the second era, than those which accompanied its perfection in the first.

A second decline, as we have said, took place; and this will be obviously explained by the reasons we have given for the first; but it still remains for us to inquire, why this decline has continued during a space of time so much longer than the other; and this inquiry is intimately connected with the condition and prospects of the schools of art at the present time.

The chief circumstance which is peculiar to the period in question, is the almost universal establishment of academies for the promotion of the Fine Arts. Institutions of this nature had already been founded in Rome, Florence, and Milan, in the time of the great masters of the first era; but it was not till the reign of Louis XIV. that they became general. The example of that monarch, who originated the academy of France, was followed by most of the European states. Among the last of these was England, whose academy was not founded until the reign of George III. Many of these establishments, particularly that of France, were on a scale worthy the object they were destined to promote. Well endowed professors, well appointed schools in various departments of study, lectures and models, prizes and rewards, raised and almost justified the expectation that art, relieved from the difficulties which had hitherto beset her path, would grow and flourish beyond all former precedent. In France, as well as in some other countries, state patronage was annexed to state instruction, that nothing might be wanting to ensure a result, no less glorious to the nation than to art herself.



How much these expectations have been disappointed, is too well known. The academies have not added a single name to the too scanty catalogue of distinguished painters. Names, indeed, and not a few, have from time to time attained a temporary celebrity and a local fame; but there have as yet been none that have escaped oblivion in a succeeding generation. And the history of art during this era, which may well be called the Academic, exhibits, with but one exception, a dead level of universal mediocrity. That exception is significant. In England, about a century ago, appeared Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Wilson, four men not unworthy to be ranked among the ancient masters. No revival of patronage had preceded their appearance, nor were they nurtured within the walls of an academy; and England, which was at that time almost the only country without an institution for the promotion of the fine arts, was the only country where those arts were seen to flourish. Proud of her newly acquired proficiency, England too, aspired to imitate her neighbours, and established her academy. Her academy, however, like theirs, has been unproductive; for, the four men whom we have named, still remain the only 'masters' of the English school. The theory we have advanced, precludes us from attributing this inferiority of modern art, whether in England or elsewhere, wholly to the influence of academies. According to this theory, the rise and fall of art, like the advancing and receding tides, must, unless prevented by some disturbing cause, follow each other in alternate fluctuation. The decline in question therefore is, within certain limits, to be attributed to this inevitable law. But since we find, where academies have been established, that no timely revival has ever recurred—that the waters which have subsided, stagnate and rise no more, we are constrained to consider so remarkable a phenomenon as the effect of these very institutions. Nor will it be difficult, on the foregoing principles, to trace the connexion between the establishment of academies and the continued depression of artistic energy, wherever the influence of those academies be felt. If that energy be mainly developed by the stimulus of enterprise, nothing can be supposed more likely to damp, to fetter, to quench that energy, than the formal legislation of a modern academy. The student, with his mind unformed, and all his faculties in a plastic state, instead of inquiring for himself at the fountain head of ancient excellence, bows down before the irresistible authority of a state establishment; he takes on trust all the rules of art and all the regulations of his study; serves so many years to the drawing from the antique sculptors, so many years to the drawing from the living model; is told now to attend the lectures on perspective, anon the lectures on anatomy;

is at one time instructed to copy pictures, at another to study composition ; and thus, with submissive diligence, he pursues his labours and learns to do everything but to think. Let it not be said that we countenance the vulgar notion that rules fetter genius, and that the mind of the student requires no other guidance than his own, in the difficult pursuit of excellence. The question is not whether he should submit to authority, but what that authority should be. We know of no submission more absolute than that which is required from every student who would excel, to the great scriptures of his art (if we may be allowed the expression) which are found in the examples left by the ancient masters. But unless the principles on which those works were conducted be thoroughly digested by the meditations of his own mind, although he may assent to, he cannot know them : and what he does not thoroughly know, he cannot from the heart obey. Now, the objection to the teaching of the academies is twofold. In the first place, even though true principles were taught in such institutions, they must be taken on trust, and would be therefore of little value : the student is saved the labour of investigation, and therefore is deprived of the stimulus of discovery, and his mind habituated to depend on others, becomes relaxed and indolent, frivolous and infirm. In the next place, we object that true principles are *not* taught in academies at all. These establishments transmit the traditions of art with more of authority indeed, but not through a purer channel, than did the successors of the first masters. Tradition has again corrupted the great principles of art, but that corruption is now sanctioned by the approval of academie bodies everywhere established ; and thus the deterioration has become, if not greater, yet far more fixed and wide-spread than before. Those who are intimately acquainted with the working of academies, well know how strong has been their practical tendency to withdraw the attention of pupils from the ancient standards, and to fix it upon their teachers, or upon their fellow-students ; how far a false authority has displaced the true, how nominal has been the tribute of admiration paid to the *names* of the great masters, and how real and mischievous the popularity of some idol of the day.

These are our reasons for believing that inferiority in the fine arts is occasioned by the absence of that stimulus of original enterprize which induced the excellence of the ancient painters ; and that the academies have been influential in preventing such a revival of that stimulus in modern times, as according to analogy might have been expected.

It has been seen that this stimulus has only acted powerfully, in two classes of circumstances. One existed in that age when

men first carried their newly-discovered principles to perfection. The other, when they restored those principles after they had fallen into decay. It is evident that the state of things in the first of these epochs can never recur until all traces of ancient art should for a second time be lost. For the purpose, therefore, of promoting a revival of that excellence which characterized the ancient schools, our painters should place themselves as nearly as possible in the position of the masters who flourished in the second epochs. They should imitate not so much the works of these masters, as the ardent and independent study of the ancient standards, and the resolute determination to carry out the ancient principles, which these masters manifested. They should strive with the animated zeal of Rubens, or with the more chastened diligence of Poussin, to restore so much of the excellence of Michael Angelo, of Raffaele, of Titian, or of Correggio, as may be attainable in a later age. They should forsake the enervating atmosphere of academies, and learn to think for themselves. They should look less to patronage, and more to their individual efforts. Then, and then only, will a school again arise which will follow the old paths without servility, and be original without eccentricity. Then will true art again be seen upon the earth, and again flourish for a season; and that renovation which Government patronage cannot achieve, and which academical education can only retard, will at length be granted to the independent energies of the human mind.

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Art. IV. *Excursions along the Banks of the Rhine.* By Victor Hugo. 12mo. London: Henry Colburn.

THE historical glories and romantic legends of the Rhine have been recorded by so many travellers and poets, that we had begun to reckon the theme exhausted, and to look with other feelings than those of pleasure on the occasional announcement of a new work respecting them. The mine had been so frequently explored, and its rich ore brought forth in such abundance, that we had little faith in the promises of fresh explorers. We stand rebuked, however, for our unbelief, and confess that the volume before us has added new charms to a region which had previously a strong hold on our imagination and judgment.

The birth-place of the civilization of the North, the banks of the Rhine, have been the theatre on which, from ancient times, the greatest of European events have transpired. The legions of Cæsar and Germanicus bathed their feet in its waters, while



those of Charlemagne and Napoleon crimsoned its stream with blood. As rich in scenery as in historical associations, and infinitely diversified in both, this noble river, flowing like some great artery through the central land of Western Europe, has alike attracted towards itself the idle tourist, the dreamer of romance, the historical student, and the political economist. Its local associations are unequalled—at least, in Europe; while it stands forth, a link between the past and the present, verifying the records of history, and relieving the monotony of actual life by the visionary forms which flit before the eye of the intelligent traveller. To such a region the present work is devoted, and its author has brought to his task just that combination of talent which was requisite for its illustration. His volume is instinct with the spirit of poetry, and breathes into the heart of the reader the very inspiration of the places described. It reveals also the mind of its author, while it paints the scenery and narrates the legends of the Rhine. Altogether, it is a charming book, just such an one as we love, in which minute descriptions are embodied with large views, and an intimate knowledge of history is associated with an imaginative temperament and a highly poetic diction. It is justly remarked in the preface to the present translation, that 'Victor Hugo's impressions of the Rhine are conceived by the mind, and conveyed to the reader by the hand of a man of genius—vivid, graphic, and original. He has viewed the venerable stream in a new and striking light. Nothing can be more picturesque than his landscapes,—nothing more startling than his antiquarian hypotheses. After perusing descriptions such as could have been produced only by a man of highly cultivated mind and highly poetical temperament, we learn to prize his new pictures of a familiar scene, as

‘ ‘ Nature to advantage dress'd ;  
What oft was seen, but ne'er so well express'd.' ’

The work is written in the form of Letters, of which, without further preface, we shall proceed to furnish our readers with some specimens. In July, 1839, the author quitted Paris, taking the Chalons Road; on which, 'thanks to the progress and activity of modern demolitions,' very little remains to interest the tourist. To such a mind, however, every object was suggestive, and the following brief description of an emigrant family reveals much more than meets the common eye.

‘ At five in the afternoon I quitted Montmirail, taking the road from Sézanne to Epernay. In an hour I reached Vaux-Champs, traversing the field of battle. A moment before, I came up with a cart drawn by a horse and an ass, and laden with saucepans, coppers, old boxes, straw chairs, and other dilapidated furniture; on the fore-part of the vehicle

was a basket containing three half-naked children, and in the rear another basket full of poultry. The carter, dressed in a smock frock, carried an infant on his back; while a woman, trudging by his side, seemed likely to furnish another. They were proceeding towards Montmirail. 'Just such objects must this spot have presented five and twenty years ago,' was my reflection. On inquiry, I found it was not an ordinary move, but an expatriation, the family being on their way to America; not flying from a field of battle, but from the pursuit of want: or, in plain words, a poor family of Alsatian peasants, to whom a grant of land has been accorded in Ohio; and who quit their native country, little thinking that Virgil wrote beautiful verses about them two thousand years ago.

'These poor people seemed little concerned as to their fate. The man was quietly attaching a thong to his whip, the woman humming a tune, while the children were amusing themselves with play. The furniture was painful to look at. The fowls alone appeared depressed by their journey.

'This indifference astonished me, for I believed the love of country to be more deeply rooted in the heart of man. After all, these people abandon with indifference the trees under which they grew to maturity. I followed them some time with my eyes, wondering which road the wretched group would take; but, by the winding of the road, they suddenly disappeared. For some time afterwards I heard the smack of the man's whip and the hum of the woman's song, and all was over.

'Soon afterwards I found myself upon the plains rendered glorious by Napoleon. The sun was sinking, the trees shot forth their shadows, so that the furrows were slightly defined here and there. A grey mist was rising from the ravines, and the fields were deserted, so that nothing was to be seen but an occasional plough. To my left was a stone-quarry, where the newly rounded millstones were strewn upon the ground, like the men upon an immense draught-board, of which giants had been playing the game.'—pp. 11—13.

Aix-la-Chapelle, the city of Charlemagne, calls up in the mind of our author a host of recollections, in which he freely indulges, revealing in his enthusiasm more of the views of his countrymen than some of their more prudent statesmen would deem wise. Of the city itself, he says:—

'As regards invalids, Aix-la-Chapelle is a hot, cold, mineral, ferruginous, sulphurous, bathing place; as regards the pleasure seeker it is a region of balls and concerts. For the pilgrim it is the shrine of those precious relics which are exhibited once in seven years, (the gown of the Virgin, the blood of Jesus, and the cloth into which fell the head of St. John the Baptist.) For the old chronicler, it is an abbey for maidens of high descent, succeeding to the monastery built by St. Gregory, son of Nicephoras, Emperor of the East. For the sportsman, it is no less attractive, as the ancient valley of the wild boar, (*Porcetum* having become *Borcette*). The manufacturer views it as containing water suitable for the preparation of wool; the shopkeeper as a depôt of pins, needles,

and cloth. But for him who is neither manufacturer, sportsman, antiquarian, pilgrim, invalid, or tourist, it is simply the City of Charlemagne.' —p. 84.

Of Cologne and its cathedral, an extended account is furnished, of which, however, we can transcribe only the closing paragraph, descriptive of the reflections of the author during an evening's stroll on the shore opposite to the city.

'I had before me the whole city, with its innumerable gables and sombre steeples, defined against the pallid sky of the west. To my left, like the giantess of Cologne, stood the lofty spire of St. Martin, with its two open-worked towers. Nearly fronting me was the gloomy cathedral, with its thousand pinnacles bristling like the back of a hedge-hog, crouched up on the brink of the river, the immense crane on the steeple forming the tail, while the lanterns alight towards the bottom of the gloomy mass glared like its eyes. Amid this pervading gloom I heard nothing but the gentle ripple far below at my feet, the deadened sounds of horses' hoofs upon the bridge, and from a forge in the distance the ringing strokes of the hammer on the anvil; no other noise disturbed the stillness of the Rhine. A few lights flickered in the windows from the forge; the sparks and flakes of a raging furnace shot forth and extinguished themselves in the Rhine, leaving a long luminous trace, as if a sack of fire was shooting forth its contents into the stream. Influenced by this gloomy aspect of things, I said to myself, the Gaulic city has disappeared, the city of Agrippa vanished, Cologne is now the city of St. Engelbert, but how long will it be thus? The temple built yonder by St. Helena fell a thousand years ago—the church constructed by Archbishop Anno will also fall—the ruin is gradually undermining the city; every day some old stone, some old remembrance is detached from its place by the wear and tear of a score of steam-boats. A city does not affix itself with impunity to the grand artery of Europe. Cologne, though more ancient than Trèves and Soleure, the two most ancient communities of the Continent, has been thrice reformed and transformed by the rapid and violent current of ideas ascending and descending unceasingly, from the cities of William the Taciturn to the mountains of William Tell, and bringing to Cologne from Mayence the opulence of Germany, and from Strasbourg the opulence of France.

'A fourth climacteric epoch appears to menace Cologne. The mania of utilitarianism and positivism, so called in the slang of the day, pervades every quarter of the world, and innovations creep into the labyrinth of its antique architecture, and open streets penetrate its Gothic obscurity. What is called 'the taste of the day' is beginning to invade it, with houses or frontages in the fashion on our Rue de Rivoli, to the profound amazement of the shopkeepers. Nay, have we not seen that there exist drunken rhymers who would fain behold the old minister of Conrad of Hochstetten converted into the Pantheon of Soufflot? In that cathedral, still endowed and adorned, for vanity's sake rather than from devotion, the ancient tombs of the archbishops are decaying. The peasant-women, with their superb old costume of scarlet, and coifs of



gold and silver, have yielded their place upon the quays to smart and flippant *grisettes*, attired in the Paris fashion ; and I saw the last brick dislodged from the old cloister of St. Martin, in order that a café might be built on the site. Long rows of pert white houses give a cockneyfied air to the Catholic and feudal suburb of the martyrs of Thebes ; and an omnibus takes you across the historical bridge of boats, for six sols, from *Agrippina* to *Tuitium* ! Alas, alas ! the old cities of Europe are departing.'—pp. 131—133.

The volume abounds in the seeds of thought, which are scattered with a profuse liberality, betokening the mental affluence of the author, and affording no common gratification to an intelligent reader. Ordinary facts are viewed in their connexions, or traced out to their results, so as to become the germs of thought,—the materials out of which philosophy forms its principles and systems. It is thus that history is made the handmaid of philosophy, and the light of intellect is diffused over a region which would otherwise be regarded as sterile of great and instructive events. Let the following be taken as an example:

'The life and intelligence of man lie at the mercy of a divine influence, which the Christian calls providence, the freethinker chance ; which mixes, combines, and organizes all things ; concealing its machinery in the shadow of night, and setting forth its work in the light of day. While intending to do one thing, we are often betrayed into the contrary. *'Urceus exit.'*

'History teems with examples of this. When the husband of Catharine de Medicis and lover of Diane de Poitiers allowed himself to be allured by the mysterious charms of Philippe Duc, the beautiful Piedmontese, he was fated to engender, not only Diane d'Angoulême, to become the wife of Farnese, but the reconciliation at a future time between his son, afterwards Henri III., with his cousin, afterwards Henri IV.

'When the Duke de Nemours galloped down the steps of the Holy Chapel, mounted upon his famous palfrey, 'the Royal,' he not only introduced the fashion of such dangerous amusements, but prepared the way for the disastrous death of the King of France. On the 10th of July, 1559, in the lists of St. Antoine, Montgomery, his face streaming under the red plumes of his casque, with his chivalrous exertions, fixing his lance into his rest, rushed on a royal knight, bearing the device of the fleur-de-lis, and applauded by every lady present—little surmising the importance of the event reserved for his hands ! Never did the wand of fairy possess the power of that disastrous lance ! With a single thrust, it sealed the fate of Henri II., demolished the palace of the Tournelles, constructed the Place Royale, and in short suppressed the leading personage of the drama on the stage, changed its whole scenery and decorations, and overturned the system of social life.

'When, after the battle of Worcester, Charles II. concealed himself in the oak, he intended only to secure a hiding place ; instead of which, he conferred a name upon a constellation, 'the Royal Oak,' and afforded

to Halley the means of thwarting the wishes of Tycho Brahe. The second husband of Madame de Maintenon in revoking the Edict of Nantes, and the Parliament of 1688 in dethroning James II., were working a way for that curious battle of Almanza, which beheld a French army commanded by an Englishman, Marshal Berwick, and an English army commanded by a Frenchman, Ruvigny, Lord Galloway. Had not Louis XIII. died on the 14th of May, 1643, the old Count Fontana would never have thought of attacking Rocroy five days afterwards; nor an heroic prince, twenty-two years of age, have enjoyed the brilliant opportunity of the 19th of May, which raised the Duke d'Enghien into the 'Great Condé!'

'In the midst of the crowd of historical facts with which chronology abounds, what singular echoes, what wonderful parallels, what unexpected results! In 1664, after the insult offered at Rome to his ambassador the Duke de Crequy, Louis XIV. caused the Corsicans to be expelled from the Holy City; and one hundred and forty years afterwards, an obscure Corsican, grown into the Emperor Napoleon, exiles the Bourbons from France! What mysterious shadows, and what flashes of light, then darkness! When, about 1612, the youthful Henri de Montmorency observed at his father's, among the gentlemen attached to his establishment, a pale-faced looking page engaged in menial occupation, Laubespine de Châteauneuf by name, how was he to suppose that the youth then so submissive and respectful would progress into a Keeper of the Seals, and eventually preside by commission at the parliament of Toulouse, and furtively procure a dispensation from the pope in order to proceed to the decapitation of his former master Henri II., Duke of Montmorency, field marshal of France by the chances of the sword, and by the grace of God a peer of the realm?

'When the President de Thou polished, retouched, and revised so minutely in his book the Edict of Louis XI. of the 22d of December, 1477, who could have foretold that this same edict, with Laubardemont for a handle of the same, would serve as an axe for Richelieu to decapitate his son?

'In the midst of the chaos of events, order prevails. The confusion exists but in appearance; all is submitted to the laws of the Almighty. After a long lapse of time, the startling facts which astounded the senses of our fathers, return like comets, from the darkest abyss of history. The same treasons recur—the same treachery, the same disasters, the same wrecks. The names alone are changed; the facts are identical. A few days before the fatal treaty of 1814, Napoleon could have said to his thirteen marshals, '*Amen dico vobis quia unus vestrum me traditurus est.*'

'Brutus continues to be adopted by Cæsar, a Charles to prevent a Cromwell from proceeding to Jamaica, and a Louis XVI. to forbid a Mirabeau embarking for India. From age to age despotic queens are punished by refractory sons, and ungrateful queens by ungrateful sons. An Agrippina brings forth the Nero who is to put her to death; a Marie de Medicis, the Louis XIII. who is to drive her into exile. Admire, I beg of you, the strange combination of ideas, by which I have arrived almost unintentionally at two queens, two Italians, two crowned shadows

of the past : Agrippina and Marie de Medicis ; spectres who still haunt the romantic precincts of Cologne, the names of despairing queen-mothers. At sixteen hundred years distance of time, the daughter of Germanicus, who was mother of Nero, and the wife of Henri IV., who was the mother of Louis XIII., stamped their names indelibly in the annals of Cologne.'—pp. 135—138.

The rapacious spirit of modern times is equally visible on the banks of the Rhine, as in other and less poetic regions. Its exactions meet the traveller at every step, and constitute a serious annoyance, against which it is of no avail to complain. The evil exists to a disgraceful extent in our own country, but we were scarcely prepared to meet with it in the same state of maturity on the Continent. Our author's account of the matter is sufficiently amusing to tempt us to transfer the passage to our pages, which we do for the information, and as a warning to our readers.

'The pleasure of seeing curious objects, museums, churches, or town-halls, is considerably lessened by the constant demand for fees. Upon the Rhine, as in all much-frequented countries, such demands sting you like gnats. On a journey let the traveller put faith in his purse, and without it let no man look for the tender mercies of hospitality, or the grateful smile of a kindly farewell. Allow me to set forth the state of things which the aborigines of the Rhine have created, as regards the fee or *pour boire*. As you enter the gates of a town you are asked to what hotel you intend to go ; they next require your passport, which they take into their keeping. The carriage pulls up in the court-yard of the posthouse ; the conductor, who has not addressed a word to you during the whole journey, opens the door and thrusts in his filthy hand, '*Something to drink.*' A moment afterwards comes the postillion, who, though prohibited by the regulations, looks hard at you, as much as to say, '*Something to drink.*' They now unload the diligence, and some vagabond mounts the roof and throws down your portmanteau and carpet bag—'*Something to drink !*' Another puts your things into a barrow, and inquiring the name of your hotel, away he goes, pushing his barrow. Arrived at the hotel, the host insinuatingly inquires your wishes, and the following dialogue takes place, which ought to be written in all languages on all the doors of all the rooms.

' 'Good day, Sir.'

' 'Sir, I want a room.'

' 'Good, Sir : (*bawls out*) No. 4 for this gentleman.'

' 'Sir, I wish to dine.'

' 'Directly, Sir,' &c.

'You ascend to your room, No. 4, your baggage having preceded you, and the barrow gentleman appears.

' 'Your luggage, Sir—*Something to drink.*'

'Another now appears, stating that he carried your baggage up stairs.

' 'Good,' say you, 'I will not forget you with the other servants when I leave the house.'



‘ ‘Sir,’ replies the man, ‘I do not belong to the hotel—*Something to drink.*’

‘You now set out to walk, and a fine church presents itself. Eager to enter, you look around, but the doors are shut! ‘*Compelle intrare,*’ says holy writ, according to which the priests ought to keep the doors open. The beadles shut them, however, in order to gain ‘*something to drink.*’ An old woman, perceiving your dilemma, points to a bell-handle by the side of a low door; you ring, the beadle appears, and on your asking to see the church, he takes up a bundle of keys and proceeds towards the principal entrance, when, just as you are about to enter, you feel a tug at your sleeve, with a renewed demand for ‘*something to drink.*’

‘You are now in the church. ‘Why is that picture covered with a green cloth?’ is your first exclamation.

‘ ‘Because it is the finest we possess,’ replies the beadle.

‘ ‘So much the worse,’ is your reflection. ‘In other places they exhibit their best paintings, *here* they conceal their *chef d’œuvres.*’

‘ ‘By whom is the picture?’

‘ ‘By Rubens.’

‘ ‘I wish to see it.’

‘The beadle leaves you a moment, and returns with a grave-looking personage, who pressing a spring, the picture is exposed to view; but upon the curtain reclosing, the usual significant sign is made for ‘*something to drink,*’ and your hand returns to the pocket.

‘Resuming your progress in the church, still conducted by the beadle, you approach the grating of the choir, before which stands a magnificently attired individual, no less than the *Suisse*, waiting your arrival. The choir is *his* particular department, which, after having viewed, your superb cicerone makes you a pompous bow, meaning, as plain as bow can speak, ‘*something to drink.*’

‘You now arrive at the vestry, and, wonderful to say, it is open: you enter, when lo! *there* stands another verger, and the beadle respectfully withdraws, for the verger must enjoy his prey to himself. You are now shown stoles, sacramental cups, bishops’ mitres, and in some glass case, lined with dirty satin, the bones of some saint dressed out like an opera-dancer. Having seen all this, the usual ceremony of ‘*something to drink*’ is repeated, and the beadle resumes his functions.

‘You find yourself at the foot of the belfry, and desire to see the view from the summit. The beadle gently pushes open a door, and having ascended about thirty steps, your progress is intercepted by a closed door. The beadle having again departed, you knock, and the bell-ringer makes his appearance, who begs you to walk up—‘*Something to drink.*’ It is some relief to your feelings that his man does not attempt to follow you as you make your way upwards to the top of the steeple.

‘Having attained the object of your wishes, you are rewarded by a superb landscape, an immense horizon, and a noble blue sky; when your enthusiasm becomes suddenly chilled by the approach of an individual who haunts you, buzzing unintelligible words into your ears, till at last you find out that he is especially charged to point out to strangers

all that is remarkable, either with regard to the church or landscape. This personage is usually a stammerer, and often deaf; you do not listen to him, but allow him to indulge in his muttering, completely forgetting him, while you contemplate the immense pile below, where the lateral arches lie displayed like dissected ribs, and the roofs, streets, gables, and roads, appear to radiate in all directions, like the spokes of wheels, of which the horizon is the fellow.

'Having indulged in a prolonged survey, you think about descending, and proceed towards the stairs; and lo! there stands your friend with his hand extended.

'You open your purse again.

' 'Thanks, Sir!' says the man, pocketing the money; 'I will now trouble you to remember *me*.'

'How so—have I not just given you something?'

' 'That is not for me, Sir, but for the church; I hope you will give me *something to drink*.'

'Another pull at the purse.

'A trap-door now opens, leading to the belfry; and another man shows and names you the bells. '*Something to drink*' again! At the bottom of the stairs stands the beadle, patiently waiting to re-conduct you to the door: and '*something to drink*' for *him* follows as a matter of course.

'You return to your hotel, taking good care not to inquire your way, for fear of further demands. Scarcely, however, are you arrived, when a stranger accosts you by name, whose face is wholly unknown to you.

'This is the commissioner who brings your passport, and demands '*something to drink*.' Then comes dinner; then the moment for departure—'*Something to drink*.' Your baggage is taken to the diligence—'*Something to drink*.' A porter places it on the roof; and you comply with *his* request for '*something to drink*,' with the satisfaction of knowing that the claim is the last. Poor comfort, when your miseries are to recommence on the morrow!

'To sum up, after paying the porter, the wheelbarrow, the man who is not of the hotel, the old woman, Rubens, the Suisse, the verger, ringer, church, under-ringer, stammerer, beadle, commissioner, servants, stable-boy, postman, you will have undergone eighteen taxings for fees in the course of a morning.'—pp. 142—147.

Our space must limit us to one more extract, which we take from our author's account of the architecture of some of the principal cities which he visited. He is a stern reprove, and not without good reason, of the modern taste in this matter. 'I know not,' he says, 'what corrosive and destructive property is inherent in that flimsy architecture with plaster colonnades, theatrical churches, and palace-like public-houses; but certain it is, that wherever this prevails, the ancient city disappears amidst piles of lath and plaster.' The old churches happily survive, a standing witness against the innovations which threaten to extinguish true taste in the affectation of mere finery.

‘Cologne is a Gothic city still loitering in the epoch of the Gauls. Frankfort and Mayence are also Gothic, but trenching on the revival of the arts, and in some respects corrupted by the rusticated and Chinese. There is consequently something Flemish about Mayence and Frankfort, which distinguishes them from the other Rhenish cities. One perceives at Cologne, that the austere projectors of the cathedral, Master Gerard, Master Arnold, and Master Jean, long controlled with their authority the taste of the city. These four great shadows have watched over Cologne for the lapse of four centuries; protecting the churches of Plectrude and Hanno, the tomb of Theophania, and the gilt chamber of the Eleven Thousand Virgins; intercepting the influx of spurious taste; slow to tolerate the almost classical imagination of the revival of the arts; maintaining the purity of Gothic architecture; weeding the endive work of Louis XV., wherever they made their appearance; maintaining, in all the sharpness of their outline, the carved gables of the structures of the fourteenth century; and overawed only (like the lion by the braying of the ass) by the monstrous innovations of the Parisian architects of the present century.

‘At Mayence and Frankfort the architecture of the Rubens school prevails; the vigorous and flowering outline, the rich fantasies of Flanders; a superabundance of iron trellis-work, overcharged with flowers and animals; an endless variety of angles and turrets; indications of a florid complexion and plethoric temperament, possessing more health than beauty; a profusion of masks, tritons, naiads, fleshy exaggerations of pagan sculpture, overwrought embellishments, and hyperbolic designs,—all that is exorbitant and magnificent in bad taste, have invaded the city since the commencement of the seventeenth century; feathering and festooning, according to their poetic fancies, the ancient and solemn Germanic architecture of the city. Seen as the birds fly, Mayence and Frankfort, the one on the Rhine, the other on the Maine, having the same position as Cologne, partake necessarily of the same plan. Upon the opposite bank, the bridge of boats of Mayence has created Castel, just as the stone bridge of Frankfort created Sachshausen, and the bridge of Cologne Deutz.

‘The cathedral of Mayence, like those of Worms and Trèves, has no front, but terminates at the two extremities by two choirs. They consist of two Roman apses, each having its transept, opposite each other, connected by a great nave, as if two churches were united by their façades. The two crosses touch at their lower extremity. From this geometrical formation, results six towers, viz., one large one between two lesser, like the priest between the deacon and subdeacon; a symbolism I have already mentioned as producing in our own cathedrals the structure of our Gothic windows.

‘The two apses, whose conjunction forms the cathedral of Mayence, are of different periods, and though identified in the same geometrical line, with respect to dimensions, present, as edifices, a striking contrast. The first and lesser of the two is of the tenth century; begun in 978, and terminated in 1009; since which, every successive century has added its stone.

‘A hundred years ago the prevailing taste of the day assailed the



cathedral, and the Pompadour florid style, with its exuberant frippery, degraded the Lombard lozenge and Saxon arch; and the ancient apsis is now disfigured by these fanciful and unmeaning embellishments. The great tower, with its ample cone, three diminishing diadems, rose and facet-cut ornaments, seems built rather with gems than stone. Upon the other tower, which is severe, simple, Byzantine and Gothic, modern architects have erected a sharp pointed cupola, probably from economy, resting at its basis upon a circle of sharp gables, not unlike the iron crown of the Kings of Lombardy. It is in zinc, plain and unornamented, reminding one of the pontifical mitre of the primitive times. One might fancy it the severe tiara of Gregory VII. looking at the splendid tiara of Boniface VIII.; a grand idea placed there by time and chance—great architects in their way.

'The whole of this venerable edifice has been smeared over with pinkish plaster, from top to bottom. The act has been perpetrated with much taste and discernment; the Byzantine tower being of a delicate pink, the Pompadour of a vivid red!'—pp. 354—356.

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Art. V. *A Manual of the History of the Middle Ages, from the Invasion of the Barbarians to the Fall of Constantinople.* Translated from the French Work of Des Michels, by T. G. Jones. 12mo. pp. viii. 374. 1841. London: Nutt.

CONVENIENT, perhaps necessary, as may be the distinction in a general view of history, between ancient, middle, and modern times, it has many and serious disadvantages. There is, in point of fact, no such division. Gradation, not abruptness, is the cardinal characteristic of history. Individual states or great political combinations, the mighty 'monarchies' that stretch over half a world, and the petty polities from whose ramparts the eye can trace their boundaries, may lapse or break up; violence, decay, or self-destruction, may have caused their fall, but the great procession of events, the untiring movement of God's providence, has still been passing on without arrest or pause. And as there is no real, so is there no ostensible line of demarcation. It is easy enough to take up a particular period, or to fix on some conspicuous event, and to say, that this shall be the point of separation between two great historical sections. Many lines, both political and providential, may have met and apparently terminated there. Just then an unwieldy empire fell; a wasting deluge of barbarians swept over the civilized world; or some despot of the hour trampled down the rights and happiness of men. Still there has been progression, and the business of the historian is to trace out its continuity, not to avail himself of a conventional resting-place to cease or to interrupt his labours.

There is a great deal too much passed over or taken for granted, when the irruption of barbarians on the open frontiers of Europe, is represented as bearing down the last relics of Roman civilization; the fact and the mode are alike at variance with historic truth. The conquest was at once more gradual and less complete than we usually find it set down in Manuals and Introductions, though it must be admitted that much has been done of late years, and especially by the French writers on history, to communicate correct and well-defined views on the subject. Among those who have most distinguished themselves in this way, M. des Michels deserves honourable mention for the eminent ability with which he has brought into the compass of a single volume, not too large for even a modern pocket, a singularly clear exposition of an involved and intractable series of events extending through a term of eleven hundred years. The quantity of information usually considered as incidental and illustrative only, but which ought rather to be taken as essential, that he has compressed within these limits, is such as could only have been effected by a clear head and vigorous hand, dealing with the acquisitions of great and long-continued research.

With respect, however, to the translation, we regret that we are unable to give it unqualified praise, or accept it as an altogether satisfactory substitute for the original. The translator is, we suppose, a reasonably good French scholar, and we find no other fault with his English than that we should have liked it better had it kept somewhat closer to the text. Des Michels is not only no mere compiler, but he is also no ordinary writer. His style is compact and pregnant; he does not throw away his expressions, nor is it safe to employ language apparently equivalent, when, in the close composition of the original every word has a distinct meaning. We could point out passages in the volume before us, where a departure from the form and phrase has introduced a vagueness into the statement that bears small resemblance to the precision of Des Michels.

The translator has, moreover, fallen into errors which, if not the result of great carelessness, seem to indicate a want of qualification for a task not in itself requiring any extraordinary degree of previous knowledge. A few instances will be sufficient. At page 224, he gives *Ferracia* for *Ferrara*; the Brussels edition of 1835 gives *Ferrace*, a notable blunder, from which the genuine Paris publication is probably free. In the same sentence we find *Scalla* for *Scala*. Elsewhere, we have the 'Dukes of Leutharis and Bucelin;' where the designation should have been not territorial, but personal. There are a good many of these negligences scattered through the volume, and they much lessen its value as a text-book for the young.

Art. VI. *Biographia Britannicæ Literariæ, or Biography of Literary Characters of Great Britain and Ireland, arranged in chronological order: Anglo-Saxon period.* By Thomas Wright, M. A. Parker. 1843.

WHILE great and increasing attention has been paid of late years to every branch of inquiry which can throw light on our mediæval history, we are glad to find an interest in the history of those more remote periods, which in former times were most unphilosophically considered as scarcely worthy of notice, has also been awakened. The researches of our historical antiquaries, in their various departments, have shown how close is the connexion between the middle ages and the present day; and researches as diligently pursued into our antecedent history will, we doubt not, also show how closely even the Anglo-Saxon period is linked with our own times, and how much we owe, both of national character and national institutions, to the rude but energetic band of adventurers who planted the banner of the White Horse on our shores. 'Too much ignorance,' as one of our first Saxon scholars has remarked, 'prevails in England respecting the habits of our Saxon ancestors. Too many of our most polished scholars have condescended to make themselves the echoes of degenerate Greeks and enervated Romans, and to forget the amphilology that lurks in the word 'barbarous;' while want of power to comprehend the peculiarities of the Saxon mind—without which no one will comprehend the peculiarities of the Saxon institutions—has led others to describe the ancestors of the English nation as savages half reclaimed, without law, morals, or religion. To this assertion it is enough to oppose the fact, that nearly all European civilization went forth from our shores, when the degraded remnants of Roman cultivation survived only to bear witness in their ruins to the crimes of their respective nations.'\*

The volume now before us affords an emphatic corroboration of the foregoing remarks. It forms the first of a series 'intended to trace down the stream of British literature in successive periods of time to the close of the seventeenth century,' published under the superintendence of the Royal Society of Literature; and it presents a goodly list of Anglo-Saxon writers, who, either as teachers in their excellent schools, or as laborious missionaries among their countrymen, and the kindred tribes of Germany, did good service to their age.

The stream of English literature has flowed in an unbroken current for well nigh fourteen centuries; and 'no other country

\* Vide Kemble's Introduction to his 'Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici.'



can boast of the preservation of such a long and uninterrupted series of memorials as that of England, and even through the early ages of Saxon rule, though at times the chain is slender, it is not broken.' As is the case of all infant nations, the first effort of Saxon literature was song; and the *scop*, or minstrel, received from an energetic and imaginative race the richest gifts and the most distinguished honors. Like the poets of early Greece, the Saxon minstrel was the historian of his people, and with the 'large mass of national legends which formed collectively one grand mythic cycle,' he was expected to become acquainted, that, in addition to his own compositions, he might sing those more ancient songs which celebrated the prowess of the founders of their race, or told the marvellous adventures of an earlier generation.

But a few short fragments of this, the earliest English literature, have come down to us; they are characterised by an almost oriental boldness of metaphor, and by great spirit—a vivid picture being often touched off in a few words. Unlike the poetry of classical times, or modern usage, that of the Anglo-Saxon was neither regulated by feet nor by rhyme. 'Its chief and universal characteristic was a very regular *alliteration*, so arranged that, in every couplet, there should be two principal words in the first line, beginning with the same letter, which letter must also be the initial of the first word, on which the stress of the voice falls in the second line.' The effect of this is, on the whole, pleasing—as the reader will perceive on turning to the opening lines of *Pier's Ploughman*, which is written in the genuine Anglo-Saxon metre.

With the introduction of Christianity in the sixth century, the literature of the ancient world, together with the Scriptures and the works of the early Christian writers, became known to the Saxons. Their love of tales of valour, and wild and varied adventure, now found scope in the magnificent episodes of the Old Testament, and the Creation, the Fall of the Angels, the Exodus from Egypt, became the subjects of elaborate and lengthened poems.

While Christianity was modifying the old national literature and enlarging its scope, the languages of Greece and Rome, together with the arts and sciences, were introduced into the schools established by the Roman missionaries; and among the teachers, Theodore, a native of Tarsus, who subsequently became Archbishop of Canterbury, and his friend Abbot Adrian, said to have been an African, were most eminent. To these schools the converted Saxons flocked in multitudes, and eagerly sought the intellectual advantages thus proffered them; and so diligently did they study, and with such success, that

‘the same age in which learning had been introduced among them, saw it reflected back with a double lustre on those who had sent it.’ At the beginning of the eighth century, England stood foremost in scholarship; and while she provided both missionaries and books for pagan Germany, she sent professors also to Gaul; and when Charlemagne, in the following century, sought for learned men to superintend the education not only of his subjects but of himself, he sent, not to the Eternal City, but to Saxon England.

Of the Saxon writers enumerated in the volume before us, few have left copious remains, and but few among those who have, display much originality. As might be expected, the poetry exhibits far more spirit than the prose—for poetry is the natural language of an early state of society—and the Saxon poems of Cædmon, and the Latin poems of Aldhelm and Alcuin, present many passages of great excellence.

The story of Cædmon, the unlettered neatherd, whose improvisatorial genius seemed so astonishing to his contemporaries, that they fabled, or fancied he had obtained the gift of song by miracle, is important, as proving that even from the earliest visit of the Latin missionaries, the *Scriptures* were read to the people in their native tongue. This man was a neatherd belonging to the abbey of Whitby—at this period under the rule of the excellent Lady Hilda, and, ‘when he heard verses out of Scripture,’ says Bede, ‘he would, with much sweetness and humility, turn them into English poetry.’ Originally he was un-instructed.

‘He had not even learnt any poetry; so that he was frequently obliged to retire in order to hide his shame, when the harp was moved towards him in the hall, where at supper it was customary for each person to sing in turn. On one of these occasions, it happened to be Cædmon’s turn to keep guard at the stable during the night, and, overcome with vexation, he quitted the table and retired to his post of duty, where, laying himself down, he fell into a sound slumber. In the midst of his sleep a stranger appeared to him, and saluting him by his name, said, ‘Cædmon, sing me something.’ Cædmon answered, ‘I know nothing to sing; for my incapacity in this respect was the cause of my leaving the hall to come hither.’ ‘Nay,’ said the stranger, ‘but thou hast something to sing.’ ‘What must I sing?’ said Cædmon. ‘Sing the Creation,’ was the reply; and thereupon Cædmon began to sing verses, ‘which he had never heard before,’ and which are said to have been as follows:—

‘Now we shall praise  
the guardian of heaven,  
the might of the creator,  
and his counsel,  
the glory-father of men!

how he of all wonders,  
the eternal lord,  
formed the beginning.  
He first created  
for the children of men

heaven as a roof,  
the holy creator!  
then the world  
the guardian of mankind,

the eternal lord,  
produced afterwards,  
the earth for men,  
the almighty master!

‘Cædmon then awoke; and he was not only able to repeat the lines which he had made in his sleep, but he continued them in a strain of admirable versification. In the morning he hastened to the town-reeve or bailiff of Whitby, who carried him before the abbess Hilda, and there in the presence of some of the learned men of the place he told his story, and they were all of opinion that he had received the gift of song from heaven. They then expounded to him in his mother tongue a portion of Scripture, which he was required to repeat in verse. Cædmon went home with his task, and the next morning he produced a poem which excelled in beauty all that they were accustomed to hear. He afterwards yielded to the earnest solicitations of the abbess Hilda, and became a monk of her house; and she ordered him to transfer into verse the whole of the sacred history. We are told that he was unable to read, but that he was continually occupied in repeating to himself what he heard, and, ‘like a clean animal, ruminating it, he turned it into most sweet verse.’ Bede informs us that Cædmon’s poetry, as it existed in his time, treated successively of the whole history of Genesis, of the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt, and their entrance into the land of promise, with many other histories taken out of Holy Writ; of the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension; of the advent of the Holy Ghost and of the doctrine of the Apostles; ‘he also made many poems on the terrors of the day of judgment, the pains of hell, and the sweetness of the heavenly kingdom.’—pp. 193—195.

This may be taken as only one among many instances of the solicitude of our Saxon forefathers that all should understand the Scriptures.

The progress of literature owed much at this period to women. The lady Hilda, as we have just seen, fostered the budding genius of her neatherd, and encouraged him to pursue his studies. To the solicitations of the abbess, Hildelitha of Barking, Anglo-Saxon literature owes one of its most elaborate Latin poems, the ‘*De laudibus Virginitatis*,’ of Aldhelm, a work, although, in a literary point of view, occasionally disfigured by inflated diction, yet containing many eloquent passages. Aldhelm was, indeed, one of the most illustrious scholars of the seventh century. He was of noble birth, and choosing the cloister rather than a career of arms, he became, at an early age, the pupil of Abbot Adrian. So great were his attainments, that he is said not only to have had an intimate knowledge of Greek, but to have been sufficiently acquainted with Hebrew to read the Old Testament in its original text. His long life seems to have been passed in ceaseless exertions for the promotion of



learning and civilization; and that, as Bishop of Sherborne, he was most anxious to fulfil the more important duties of a Christian teacher, the following anecdote,—which we recommend to the attention of the Tractarian clergy, who delight in claiming for the Anglo-Saxon church an identity with their own,—will emphatically prove:—

‘ King Alfred has entered into his manual, or note-book, an anecdote which is peculiarly characteristic of the age, and which perhaps belongs to the period that preceded the foundation of the abbey, (Malmesbury.) Aldhelm had observed with pain that the peasantry were become negligent in their religious duties, and that no sooner was the church service ended than they all hastened to their homes and labours, and could with difficulty be persuaded to attend to the exhortations of the preacher. He watched the occasion, and stationed himself in the character of a minstrel on the bridge over which the people had to pass, and soon collected a crowd of hearers by the beauty of his verse; when he found that he had gained possession of their attention, he gradually introduced, among the popular poetry which he was reciting to them, words of a more serious nature, till at length he succeeded in impressing upon their minds a truer feeling of religious devotion; ‘whereas, if,’ as William of Malmesbury observes, ‘he had proceeded with severity and excommunication, he would have made no impression whatever upon them.’—p. 215.

We wish that some of these popular addresses had been preserved. We have some poetical wayside sermons of an Anglo-Norman preacher, which breathe the very spirit of Whitfield, and judging from some of the writings of Aldhelm, we may well believe that his out-door sermons were far more ‘Methodistical’ in character and doctrine, than the late historian of the Anglo-Saxon church would choose to acknowledge.

Rather later, though nearly contemporary with Aldhelm, that illustrious writer, justly styled ‘the venerable’ Bede, flourished. Although confined, during the greater part of his life, within the precincts of his monastery, at Wearmouth, he was ceaseless in exertions for the benefit of his people. Among the most interesting, if not *the* most interesting, work of the Anglo-Saxon period, we may place his ecclesiastical history; his theological writings, however, were very numerous. These are chiefly commentaries on various books of Scripture; on the Proverbs, Isaiah, Daniel, and the twelve minor prophets; on Job, and on Ecclesiastes; together with a commentary on the Gospels, and the Acts, and on most of the epistles. It is an interesting fact in his literary history, that so unwilling was Bede to leave any mistake unrectified, that he wrote, in his old age, a book of ‘*Retractiones*,’ in which, with characteristic candour, he corrects errors admitted in the writings of his earlier years. The works of Bede

are very numerous, and diversified; they comprise commentaries on the Scriptures, history, scientific treatises, and tracts on miscellaneous subjects.

‘ They are the works of a man whose life was spent in close and constant study,—industrious compilations rather than original compositions, but exhibiting profound and extensive learning beyond that of any of his contemporaries. He was not unacquainted with the classic authors of ancient Rome; and his commentaries on the Scriptures show that he understood the Greek and Hebrew languages. It appears from his book entitled *Retractationes*, that he had met with a very early Greek manuscript of the Acts of the Apostles, which he collated with the Latin text then in use; from the variations which Bede has given in the work just mentioned, Mill was led to conclude that this was either the identical manuscript now preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, or at least an exact counterpart of it. Bede’s opinions are not free from the errors, which characterized the age in which he lived; but there are few of his contemporaries whose works exhibit so large a proportion of good sense, and he was so far devoid of common prejudices that he did not scruple to adopt the useful parts of the writings of those whom the church then looked upon as heretics. Thus, in his commentary on the Apocalypse, he professes to follow the rules of interpretation published by Tychonius the Donatist, whom he praises as a learned and judicious writer in all cases where he was not necessarily led to defend the doctrines of his sect. This liberality of sentiment exposed him to be blamed by some of his envious contemporaries; and he was especially reprehended for giving a new interpretation to the Apocalypse.

‘ A very large portion of Bede’s writings consist of commentaries on the different books of the holy Scriptures, exhibiting great store of information and acuteness of perception, but too much characterized by that great blemish of the mediæval theology, an extravagant attachment to allegorical interpretation. In the treatises *De Tabernaculo* and *De Ædificio Templi*, he gives an allegorical meaning to the tabernacle and its vases, to the different articles of vesture of the priests, and to the temple of Solomon; the latter, both in the details of its construction and in the events connected with its history, he pretends to have been typical of the form and history of the church of Christ.

‘ The same tendency to give typical meanings to plain narratives characterizes Bede’s commentaries on the books of the New Testament, and is particularly remarkable in his book on the Acts of the Apostles, *every word* of which, if we believe his statement, contains a hidden meaning as well as a literal sense. It may be observed that in the comment on the seven Catholic Epistles, the much disputed passage on the three witnesses in heaven, 1 John v. 7, is omitted.’—pp. 274—276.

The scientific works of Bede are, as the reader may well suppose, of little value. In his astronomy, he follows Ptolemy, and in his natural history, Pliny, the elder; and with the early fathers he maintained that the earth was in its last age, and that

its end was at hand. Although the works handed down are all in Latin, he yet cultivated his native tongue; and the last work on which he was engaged, was a translation of St. John's Gospel into the Anglo-Saxon. Although death was approaching, he still continued that labour of love, and dictated to his young disciples, when unable himself to write. On the last morning of his life, he urged his pupils to write diligently. This they did till nine o'clock, and then retired to the daily service. One pupil remained with the dying man; 'Dearest master,' said he, 'one chapter still remains, and thou canst ill bear questioning.' 'Nay, write on,' was the reply. Thus the day passed, and when it drew near evening, the writer exclaimed that only one sentence was wanting. The few words were dictated by Bede, and the youth replied, 'it is done.' 'It is done,' said he; 'and now support my head with your hands, for I desire to sit in my holy place where I am accustomed to pray, that sitting there I may call upon my Father.' He was placed on the floor, and attempting to sing the Doxology, he expired with the word 'Holy Spirit' on his lips.

A less known, and less amiable, but equally excellent man, was Winfred, subsequently named Boniface, the apostle of Germany. He was of noble birth, and the favourite child of his father. From an early age he expressed a desire to enter the church, and he made such progress in learning, that he soon became a teacher of repute: but a desire to convert the pagan Germans was foremost in his mind, and he went to Rome to obtain permission to proceed into Thuringia. There he laboured with much success, and might have effected more good, had not his wild zeal for strict conventual discipline, rendered him an opponent of the many worthy men who followed the rule adopted by the church of the early Britons. His contests with these, often involved him in difficulties, and like too many later ecclesiastics, he seriously injured his usefulness in vain attempts to impose a rigid uniformity. Still, that Boniface was a good man, and a devoted missionary, his letters—a valuable and curious collection, which we turned over with much pleasure a short time since—fully prove; and we may well lament that blind party spirit should have pointed to him, as a mere maintainer of the papal power, when Germany unquestionably owed to him, not merely civilization, but a knowledge of the great truths of the gospel.

The last of the distinguished Anglo-Saxon scholars of the earlier period, was Alcuin. Like the foregoing learned men, he was of noble family, and like them dedicated to the church from an early age. He was a pupil of Egbert, Archbishop



of York, and in subsequent years he became teacher in that school where he had sat as scholar. Under Alcuin's superintendence the school increased in reputation, and many foreigners came to partake of its advantages. It was probably through them that Charlemagne first became acquainted with the fame of the Saxon teacher. A visit to Rome introduced the illustrious monarch to the learned Alcuin, and an invitation for him to settle in France, as the adviser and assistant of Charlemagne, in the foundation of his national schools, swiftly followed, and with the permission of the king of Northumbria, and his archbishop, Alcuin proceeded to France in the year 782. The situation of the Saxon scholar at the court of Charlemagne, was honourable alike to him and to his patron. Without holding any employment, he lived as the friend and counsellor of the Frankish monarch,—was the companion of his private hours, which were spent in discussing questions of theology and science, and he acted as the instructor of his children.

'We have few notices of the events of Charlemagne's life at this period; it was one of constant war and tumult, and we are astonished that amid his numerous hostile expeditions the busy warrior could find leisure to attend to the intellectual welfare of his people. Yet it was during this period that he conceived and carried into execution his projects of national instruction, which exercised so great an influence on the civilization of succeeding ages. It is probable that Alcuin attended Charlemagne in many of his expeditions; he lost no opportunity of making his influence with the king subservient to the interests of his native country; and after remaining about eight years in France, he resolved to return to York. Charlemagne begged him to come back speedily, and make the court of France his lasting home; a request to which Alcuin was willing to consent, if he could make it consistent with his duties to his native country: 'Although,' he said, 'I possess no small inheritance in my own country, I will willingly resign it, and in poverty serve thee, and remain with thee; let it be thy care to obtain the permission of my king and my bishop.'—pp. 351, 352.

It is curious to find Alcuin and his brother literati adopting, like the literary men at the period of the revival of learning, classical names. Alcuin took that of Flaccus Albinus, Riculf of Mentz received the pastoral name of Damætas, while to another friend was given the title of Homerus. Alcuin's last days were spent in France,—

'On the whole, the life and writings of Alcuin hold a less important place in the literary history of England than might have been supposed. Wilbrord and Boniface and their companions, struggling to dispel the dark cloud of ignorance which then enveloped the greater portion of Europe, spreading the knowledge of Christ with unceasing perseverance through so many tribes of barbarians, never cease to be English, and

stand in bold relief on the picture of events. Alcuin, who followed the missionaries in the character of the schoolmaster after their work was done, loses his nationality amid the civilization and urbanity which surrounded the court of the first Frankish emperor. His countrymen never forgot to be proud of the preceptor of Charlemagne. But he soon ceased to be identified with them, and, becoming engaged in politics with which England had little concern, and in theological disputes to which his native land was still more a stranger, he possessed little of English beside his education. The influence of his writings upon his countrymen was consequently not great: for they had more profound theologians among the fathers of their own church, and Bede was still looked up to as the *teacher* of the Anglo-Saxons.'—pp. 361, 362.

The disastrous invasions of the Danes, who with fire and sword laid waste, at the beginning of the ninth century, the most fertile parts of England, caused the ruin of Saxon scholarship. The libraries, many of them much more extensive than we have been accustomed to believe, were unsparingly burnt; and the very attachment to those cherished books, which caused so many a prelate to enshrine them in silver, ivory, and even gold coverings, rendered their destruction inevitable. A period of incessant war with the invaders, and of sanguinary civil contests followed, and it was not until the time when Alfred, having subjugated the Danes, had leisure to devote himself to the more peaceful duties of the 'cyning,' that Saxon literature revived again. The exertions of this illustrious monarch were indeed unremitting. Not only did he found schools, and patronize learned men, and encourage the writing of books, but he stands foremost in the list of royal authors; while anxious to diffuse the benefits of learning as widely as he could, he wrote not in Latin, but in his native tongue. In order to make his subjects more generally acquainted with ancient history, he translated the historical work of Orosius; and to instruct them in English history, he translated Bede's Ecclesiastical History. For his clergy, he translated Pope Gregory's 'Pastorale,' and as a consolation to himself during long illness, he translated that favourite book of the middle-ages, Boethius' 'Consolations of Philosophy.' Alfred also compiled a kind of Handbook, consisting of prayers, and psalms, and notices of passing events. This most interesting work, which existed in the time of William of Malmsbury, has however been lost.

'Alfred's translations are executed with much spirit. As he tells us himself, he 'sometimes interprets word for word, and sometimes meaning for meaning;' and he not unfrequently inserted passages of his own. The most interesting of his works in respect to this latter point are, his version of Boethius, containing several very remarkable additions, and his Orosius, in the geographical part of which he has given the valuable

narratives of two northern navigators, Ohtere and Wulfstan, whom he had personally examined. In point of style, Alfred's translations may be considered as the purest specimens we possess of Anglo-Saxon prose.' —p. 397.

The following extracts, literally translated by Mr. Wright from the preface to his translation of the 'Pastorale,' will, we doubt not, gratify our readers.

'Alfred the king greets affectionately and friendly bishop Wulsige his worthy, and I bid thee know, that it occurred to me very often in my mind, what kind of wise men there formerly were throughout the English nation, as well of the spiritual degree as of Laymen, and how happy times there were then among the English people, and how the kings who then had the government of the people obeyed God and his Evangelists, and how they both in their peace and in their war, and in their government, held them at home, and also spread their nobleness abroad, and how they then flourished as well in war as in wisdom ; and also the religious orders how earnest they were both about doctrine and about learning, and about all the services that they owed to God ; and how people abroad came hither to this land in search of wisdom and teaching, and how we now must obtain them from without if we must have them. So clean it was ruined amongst the English people, that there were very few on this side the Humber who could understand their service in English, or declare forth an epistle out of Latin into English ; and I think that there were not many beyond Humber. So few such there were, that I cannot think of a single one to the south of the Thames when I began to reign. To God Almighty be thanks, that we now have any teacher in stall. Therefore I bid thee that thou do as I believe thou wilt, that thou, who pourest out to them these worldly things as often as thou mayest, that thou bestow the wisdom which God gave thee wherever thou mayest bestow it. Think what kind of punishments shall come to us for this world, if we neither loved it ourselves nor left it to other men. We have loved only the name of being Christians, and very few the duties. When I thought of all this, then I thought also how I saw, before it was all spoiled and burnt, how the churches throughout all the English nation were filled with treasures and books, and also with a great multitude of God's servants, and yet they knew very little fruit of the books, because they could understand nothing of them, because they were not written in their own language ; as they say our elders, who held these places before them, loved wisdom, and through it obtained weal and left it to us. Here people may yet see their path, but we cannot follow after them, because we have lost both weal and wisdom by reason of our unwillingness to stoop to their track. When I thought of all this, then I wondered greatly that none of the excellent wise men who were formerly in the English nation and had fully learned all the books, would translate any part of them into their own native language ; but I then soon again answered myself and said, they did not think that ever men would become so careless and learning so decay. They therefore willingly let it alone, and would that more wisdom were in this land, the more languages we knew. Then I considered how the law was first found in the Hebrew tongue ; and again the Greeks learnt it, then they



translated it all into their own speech, and also all other books ; and also the Latin people afterwards, as soon as they had learnt it they translated it all through wise interpreters into their own tongue ; and also all other Christian people translated some part of them into their own tongue ; and also all other Christian people translated some part of them into their own languages. Therefore it appears to me better, if you think so, that we also some books which seem most needful for all men to understand, that we translate them into that language that we can all understand, and cause, as we very easily may with God's help, if we have the leisure, that all the youth that is now in the English nation of free men, such as have wealth to maintain themselves, may be put to learning, while they can employ themselves on nothing else, till at first they can read well English writing.'—pp. 397—399.

The example of so illustrious a teacher told with success upon his clergy ; but his thanes appear to have been too devoted to the battlefield and the meadcup to have heeded the exhortations even of an Alfred ; and he takes his place as the solitary lay-writer, throughout the whole range of Anglo-Saxon literature.

Although learning partially revived in England, the clergy of the later period fell far below their predecessors, not only in regard to the inferiority of their works, but in their general character. The age of Bede and Aldhelm had passed away, and that of Odo and Dunstan succeeded, and the clergy became far more anxious 'to lift up their mitred fronts in court,' than to instruct their catechumens, or preach the gospel to the heathen. The account of Dunstan in the volume before us is very excellent. He was a man of extraordinary and almost universal talents ; but we think it certain that, from an early age, he laboured under mental aberration, which was both modified and increased by the rigid ecclesiastical discipline to which he was subjected. Hence the wild hallucinations—the visions of saints and angels, and the conflicts with the author of evil—which his marvelling friends heard from his lips with such awful interest, and which his chronicler so minutely records. His mechanical genius was great, and the solitude and misery of his wretched cell—scarcely larger than a grave, and sunk almost as deep in the earth—were beguiled by the practice of various arts of usefulness and skill.

'Dunstan was distinguished by his fondness for science and the mechanical arts, and he was probably acquainted with many instruments and modes of proceeding which, though their principle is now well understood, were then believed to be the work of superhuman agency. His biographer has preserved one of the incidents that drew upon Dunstan the charge of magic. It seems that before he left the court of Ethelstan, he had invented a harp which played spontaneously. A noble lady, named Ethelwynn, who was acquainted with his skill in drawing and design, begged his assistance in ornamenting a handsome stole. Dunstan, as usual, carried with him his harp, which, when he entered

the apartment of the ladies, he hung beside the wall ; and in the midst of their work they were astonished by strains of excellent music which issued from the instrument. Dunstan had in his cell a forge, at which he manufactured the articles of metal that were necessary for the use or ornament of the church, while he rendered similar services to the people who visited him. He was skilful, also, in writing and painting, (or illuminating,) and frequently practised these arts in his cell ; while at times the sound of the hammer gave place to that of his harp,'—pp. 448, 449.

The strong partiality of the Saxon clergy to the mechanical arts is worthy of notice. Benedict Biscop, in the seventh century journeyed through Gaul to seek stone-masons to construct a church in the Roman style—the churches of the Saxons having previously been built of rude logs—and to him we also owe the introduction of glass windows. Subsequently he proceeded to Rome to collect books and pictures 'to present to the eyes of those who could not read the principal portions of scripture history ;' and no less than five journeys did he perform to introduce among his barbarous and unlettered countrymen the arts and benefits of an advanced civilization. In the following century we find Boniface aiding with his own hands to build and adorn the churches which he founded in pagan Germany ; and Swithun, Bishop of Winchester, active in restoring the churches in his diocese, and superintending the construction of a bridge with stone arches—most probably the first in England—on the eastern side of Winchester. Ethelwald, a subsequent Bishop of Winchester, and pupil of Dunstan, was also distinguished for his architectural skill. In the mechanical arts, and in music, too, he was a proficient ; and the same prelate that taught in the school, preached in the cathedral, and gave counsel in the 'witena gemot,' cast the bells, and adorned the church with his own hands. Ethelwald seems to have been a worthy man ; when his diocese was suffering under the visitation of famine and pestilence, he ordered all the church plate to be broken up and turned into money, observing, that gold and silver were better employed in feeding the poor than in administering to the pride of the clergy. The last fifty years of the Saxon period present no writers of eminence ; and those who close the series were of Norman birth, although, as inhabitants of England, they take their place in the list. Some of the latest Saxon writers, however, are worthy of notice for the opinions they maintained respecting transubstantiation. On this point their views were opposed to the Norman theologians ; but we lament that they held the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. The following extract from an Anglo-Saxon homily of Alfred Bata affords a good specimen of the popular style of address, and a clear exposition of their opinions on this subject.

‘ Christ himself consecrated the housel before his passion ; he blessed and brake in pieces the bread, saying thus to his holy apostles : ‘ Eat this bread, it is my body ;’ and he again blessed a cup with wine, saying to them thus : ‘ Drink all of this, it is my own blood of the New Testament, which is poured out for many in forgiveness of sins.’ The Lord who consecrated the housel before his passion, and saith that the bread was his own body, and that the wine was truly his blood, he consecrates daily through the hands of his priests bread to his body, and wine to his blood in a spiritual mystery, as we read in books. The lively bread nevertheless is not bodily the same body in which Christ suffered, nor is the holy wine the Saviour’s blood which was poured out for us in bodily form ; but in spiritual meaning each is truly, the bread his body, and the wine also his blood, as was the heavenly bread which we call manna.’ —pp. 497—498.

In closing this volume, it is due to Mr. Wright to express our high gratification. The work forms an admirable epitome of the literary history of an ill-known period, and an excellent introduction to the general study of Saxon history and antiquities. We are always gratified at the appearance of such works, and we wish we could awaken among our brethren a more general taste for antiquarian studies. It has been unwise in dissenters to leave so important a department of literature in the hands of their enemies ; for many a weapon well fitted to do good service in our cause may be drawn from the armory of the middle ages.

It may be well for the ill-informed churchman to taunt the dissenter with the novelty of his opinions, and the equally ill-informed dissenter may acquiesce in what he may sincerely believe to be an historical fact : but a more intimate knowledge of that period, which was the birth time of all that is most valuable in our institutions, our literature, our national character, will show that that period was also the birth time of the voluntary principle. Receiving, as did the rising nations of modern Europe, every temporal gift—laws, arts, literature, even languages—from the hands of ‘ the church,’ it would have been ungrateful indeed, if her earliest children, those who owed every thing in ‘ the life that now is’ to her fostering kindness, had not bowed down in heartfelt devotion before her. But those days passed away ; society became modified by the infusion of new elements, and a church which had been the benefactress of an earlier race, began to exercise tyrannical rule. Then was it that the voluntary principle sprang forth ; and its importance was recognised by one of the wisest of pontiffs ; and in his patronage of the mendicant orders—orders whose distinctive principle it was, that the preacher should wholly subsist on the voluntary offerings of his flock—he proved how influential he believed that principle might become. The triumphant pro-



gress of these orders in England shewed also how congenial was that principle to our forefathers; and from that time down to the present day the Nonconformist may trace his descent.

A new party in the Established Church has been claiming for her an antiquity coeval with the earliest records of our ecclesiastical history; and dissenters have tacitly allowed that claim. But let the dissenter enter into the lists with those claimants who try to eke out their short genealogy by laying violent hands on the richly-blazoned 'family tree' of the ancient and powerful Latin church, and he can show that the notion of a strictly national establishment, whose priests could minister only within the precincts of her own altars, and who should thrust away from their pale, as unauthorized intruders, the wisest, the worthiest, the most influential, not only of the continental clergy, but even of those established within a different part of their own land, was an anomaly, of which the clergy, even in Saxon times (their great stronghold,) would have been ashamed. One church alone, was acknowledged during the middle ages; and while among the various nations which formed its separate parts many diversities of ritual prevailed, an interchange of brotherly offices continued among all its members; and, as we have frequently seen in the volume now before us—to go no farther—the Saxon prelate became ruler of a diocese in France or Germany; and the Frank, the Lombard, the Roman, the native of the far East, as common members of the Western, or Latin Church, sat down in the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury. In conclusion, there is one point in the history of the Saxon clergy to which we would earnestly direct the attention of their clerical admirers—it is to their diversified attainments. We have had volumes by the score, and tracts well nigh reaching to a hundred, all showing forth the excellencies of the Tractarian system, and denouncing with appropriate bitterness its opponents. What if these reverend polemics took up the pencil, the hammer, or the graver instead? The effect of the arts in softening asperities is of classical authority, and who might tell the influence that a richly-painted east window, an elaborately-chased communion-service, a delicately-chiselled font, the work of clerical hands, might have even upon those most opposed to the church! The influence upon the reverend artists, too, would be beneficial. They might chance to find out that variety may subsist with perfect harmony, and that blended diversities are preferable to a dull aimless uniformity. For those who might not possess the artistic skill of the painter or sculptor, we might recommend the humbler arts, which, nevertheless, claim Saxon episcopal example; and then, while the church in the eyes of its votaries would derive an additional sanctity, *we* should save no small sum in church-rates.

Art. VII. *Personal Observations on Sindh, the Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants, and its Productive Capabilities; with a Sketch of its History, a Narrative of Recent Events, and an Account of the Connexion of the British Government with that Country.* By T. Postans, M.R.A.S., Bt. Captain. 8vo. London: Longman & Co.

THE history of our Indian possessions is anything but flattering to our national character. It narrates one long tissue of unprincipled aggression, in which military power and diplomatic skill have been unscrupulously employed to effect the ends of an ambitious and sordid policy. From the rise of our Anglo-Indian empire to the present day, it is difficult to fix on any interval, or to select any important event, which does not furnish materials for deep humiliation and shame. Forgetful of the professions made at home, regardless alike of the sanctions of religion and the obligations of political morality, intent only on the extension of territory and the augmentation of revenue, our rulers have perpetrated or connived at crimes which may well make believers in an overruling Providence tremble. It was not simply under the administration of Warren Hastings, that deeds were perpetrated by our countrymen in India which rival the atrocities of Spain in America. Both before and since the destinies of the East were entrusted to that great bad man, the same unscrupulous policy has characterised our procedure, and the events which have recently transpired testify that, with some modification of external aspect, it is continued to this day. The indifference with which the misgovernment of the East is regarded by the great body of our countrymen, is one of the worst symptoms of the moral condition of the public mind with which we are acquainted. The proprietors of India Stock are—with few honourable exceptions—little disposed to censure the system, which promises to replenish their treasury, while the great mass of the people are either ignorant of what is enacted under their name, or willing to connive at the crime on account of the martial glory with which it is encircled. Whether we look to China, to Affghan, or to Sindh, we shall search in vain for any one redeeming feature in the policy which has been pursued. The old plea of political necessity has of course been urged, but its hollowness is now too well known to deceive even the most credulous, and a general feeling of indignation has, in consequence, been awakened amongst the more thoughtful and virtuous portion of the community. It is not, however, our purpose at present to do more than refer to these matters. We shall have other opportunities for entering on them more fully, and shall therefore confine ourselves to the volume before us, and more particularly to the details which it



affords illustrative of the character, condition, institutions, and prospects of the people against whose independence the arms of our countrymen have been latest directed. Every one has heard of the occupation of the Sindh country by Lord Ellenborough, and apart from the strife of faction, no difference of opinion exists respecting it. Waiving the fearful questions to which this new step in the history of British aggression gives rise, we shall seek to make our readers acquainted with the history and condition of a people now intimately connected with our empire, and destined probably to be a source of perplexity and weakness to our Indian government.

The territory of Sindh lies between the 23d and 29th degrees of north latitude, and the 67th to 70th degrees of east longitude, having the river Indus nearly in its centre. It is divided into Upper and Lower, or Northern and Southern Sindh, each of these divisions being distinctly marked by physical peculiarities. The climate is intensely sultry, and the lower part of the country being exposed during a considerable part of the year to the inundations of the Indus, is exceedingly unhealthy. The hot and cold seasons follow each other so rapidly that spring and autumn are unknown. The former lasts from March to September, and during the latter, ice is by no means uncommon in Upper Sindh, and the Biluchi hills are covered with snow. The geographical features of the country are perpetually changing.

‘ Towns, once of commercial importance, are now no longer valuable for the objects of traffic: the facilities afforded by the river being withdrawn, and its advantages lost, ports which were resorted to for the whole trade of the Indus are ruined and abandoned; and portions at some periods cultivated and productive, are, in the course of a short space of time, often converted into desert tracts. The natural sloth of the natives of Sindh induces them always to choose their localities near the river, where subsistence is easily obtained, and in this way they often suffer, for whole villages are in the course of a season swept away by its torrent. The noise of the falling banks of the Indus, when heard upon the stream during a calm night, resembles the constant discharge of distant artillery.’—p. 18.

Their towns, of which Hyderabad constitutes the modern capital, are far from attractive, possessing all the repulsive features of the East without the splendour and amplitude by which some oriental cities are distinguished. Their general features are thus described by Capt. Postans.

‘ There is very little deviation in the general character of the towns in Sindh: nearly all are surrounded with walls, which are intended to be fortifications, but are of a very rude kind, and in complete disrepair, being built of mud, about twenty feet high, and pierced for matchlocks;



in the centre of the place is a bastion or citadel overlooking the surrounding country. The Jutts and pastoral classes fold their flocks outside, under the walls, against which they build their reed huts. Every place in Sindh swarms with village curs, the Pariahs of India; and these, in the absence of any police, are valuable, as keeping a constant and vigilant watch. The Wands, or moveable villages of the pastoral population, are generally composed of reed mats stretched across rough boughs of the tamarisk: such are also the materials generally employed by the fishermen and others living on the banks of the river; the houses are generally of one story, and flat-roofed; in the cities the dwellings are upper-roomed, the apartments small and ill-ventilated. It is impossible to conceive anything so filthy as the interior of a Sindhian town: every inhabitant makes a common sewer of the front of his dwelling; the narrow passage, scarcely admitting a laden camel, is nearly blocked up with dung heaps, in which recline in lazy ease packs of fat Pariah dogs, from whom the stranger, particularly a Christian (they are true Moslems these dogs,) need expect little mercy. Flies are so plentiful, that the children's faces are nearly hidden by them, and it is utterly impracticable in a butcher's or grocer's shop to discern a particle of what is exposed for sale. Add to these mere outlines, crowded streets of filthy people, an intolerable stench, and a sun which would roast an egg, some faint idea may be formed of a Sindhian town or city: the inhabitants generally sleep on the roofs of their houses for coolness.

'One main street constituting the bazaar is always a principal feature in a place of any size. These bazaars have mats and other coverings stretching from house to house, as a protection against the fierce rays of the sun. Except the bazaars of Grand Cairo, few places of a similar kind present such vivid, strange, and yet interesting groups, as the great street of Shikarpúr, frequented as it is by the merchants of both Central Asia and those of Eastern and Western India; the full pressure of business generally takes place about four o'clock; and then amidst clouds of dust, in an atmosphere of the most stifling closeness, and amid the loud din of perfect chapmanship, may be seen some of the most characteristic features of the society of the East.

'The haughty Moslem, mounted on his fine Khorassan steed, decorated with rich trappings, himself wearing the tall Sindhian cap of rich brocade, and a scarf of gold and silk, jostles through the crowd, between whom a way is opened by the Sindhian soldiers, who precede and follow him; then follows the Affghan, with a dark blue scarf cast over his breast, his long black hair falling in masses on his shoulders, his olive cheek tinted by the mountain breeze, and his eye full of fire and resolve. We have also the Seyud of Pishín in his goat's-hair cloak, the fair Herati, the merchant of Candahar, with flowing garments and many-coloured turban, the tall Patan with heavy sword, and mien calculated to court offence, while among the rest is the filthy Sindhian, and the small, miserable-looking, cringing Hindú, owning perhaps lacs in the neighbouring streets, but fearing the exactions of the Amirs. These present a fair sample of the groups who crowd the principal street of Shikarpúr; but we miss the wild Bilúchi with his plaited hair and ponderous turban, his sword, matchlock, and high-bred mare; but the freebooter of the desert loves not cities, and is rarely seen in them.'—pp. 33—36.

The Bilúchis, who are the dominant party in Sindh, are the latest conquerors of the country, having been tempted by the rich valley of the Indus to emigrate from their mountainous regions to the westward. 'They are feudatory holders of the soil, an indolent and insolent race, before whom even the late ruling princes were obliged to quail; for with arms in their hands, and looking upon the country as their own, their chiefs being in a measure elective, they exercised unbounded controul over the administration of the affairs of the country, constituting a complete military despotism.'

The ancient practice of vesting authority in the head of the tribe is perpetuated amongst the Bilúchis. Their opinion is decisive on all questions, and is paramount to that of any other Power. Their love of field sport is their ruling passion, and the cost at which they seek its indulgence is enormous. The country is completely sacrificed to it, every head of deer killed in Sindh being calculated to cost 800 rupees, or 80*l.* sterling.

'This,' remarks Capt. Postans, 'is certainly not an exaggeration, but, on the contrary, were the districts occupied by dense jungles enclosed as preserves, and now only devoted to the wild boar, tiger, and other wild and dangerous animals, cleared for the purposes of fertility, the revenues of Sindh might be unlimited, and the cost of the game must therefore be estimated by the loss the country sustains to preserve it. All denominations of Bilúchis, however, are willing to forego anything and everything for this all-absorbing occupation; and it is the only motive, except war or plunder, which will rouse them from their general love of ease. Their method of pursuing these sports is, among the inferior classes, with dogs and spears; but with the princes and chiefs it is a very systematic and luxurious affair. The Amirs, seated in temporary huts erected for the occasion at the termination of one of the enclosed preserves, have the game driven towards them by an immense crowd of men, the inhabitants of the country being collected from every direction for this purpose. Thus the Hindú is forced from his shop, and the Mahomedan husbandman from his plough, and detained for several days without food, or a farthing of remuneration for their services, but too often losing their lives, or sustaining serious injuries, merely to contribute to the sport of their rulers. Thus driven from their covert by the yells and shrieks of the beaters, who, surrounding the sporting grounds armed with staves, and loudly beating drums, gradually close towards the centre, the poor frightened brutes in the preserves make towards the only path of escape left to them, which is an opening leading directly under the muzzles of the matchlocks of the sportsmen, who pour upon them a destructive fire. The mass and variety of game that is forced from the shelter of the jungle by this means is most surprising, for not only does it include numerous hogs and black buck, the nobler sport, but great varieties of smaller game, the beautiful cotah-pacha, with foxes, hares, &c. in abundance. Hawking is also a very general sport throughout the country, for the capture of the beautiful black partridge, very similar

in plumage to that of Cutch, abounding both in the interior and on the banks of the Indus.'—pp. 56, 57.

The population of Sindh is supposed by our author to be overrated at a million, while the physical condition of its inhabitants is far below what the natural fertility of the soil would have led an observer to expect. It is difficult, however, to arrive at any accurate conclusion, as the people are thinly scattered over a large extent of territory, and our means of observation are far from satisfactory. Slavery, under a mild form, exists throughout the country, and the condition of the inhabitants generally betokens the misrule by which their government has been distinguished. They have undergone various political changes, of which our author furnishes the following summary :

	A.D.
' Ruled by Brahmins until conquered by Mahommedans -	- 711
A possession of the Khalif of the Omiade dynasty -	- 750
Conquered from them by Mahmúd of Ghuzni -	- 1025
Súmrah tribe attain power - - - - -	- 1054
Súmrahs overthrow the Súmrahs - - - - -	- 1351
Conquered by Shah Beg Urghún - - - - -	- 1519
Humayún Padshah places the country under contribution -	- 1540
Tirkhans obtain power - - - - -	- 1555
Annexed by Akbar to Delhi - - - - -	- 1590
Núr Mahomed Kalora obtains the súbidarship -	- 1736
Nadir Shah invades Sindh - - - - -	- 1740
Becomes subject to the Affghan throne - - - - -	- 1750
Kaloras overthrown by Talpúrs - - - - -	- 1786
Conquered by the English - - - - -	- 1843.'

pp. 196, 197.

There is good reason to believe that, under its Hindú possessors, Sindh constituted a rich, flourishing, and extensive monarchy; but it rapidly declined under the Mohammedan rule, and its original inhabitants have never since recovered the courage, energy, or talents by which their forefathers were distinguished.

' Social oppression, which never fails to produce moral degradation, has had this effect equally upon the Copt of Egypt and the Hindú of Sindh. Both once professed greater purity of manners and strictness of observance in morals and religion, than the Moslems, who are now their masters; but both are now equally bad in all that should distinguish them, and losing the better features of their own character, have adopted the worst of their conquerors.'—p. 159.

The government of the country is a purely military despotism, conducted on feudal principles, 'the Amirs being the heads of the whole system, as lords of the soil; each Bilúchi, or mi-



litary chieftain, holding jahgirs or grants of land, and being bound to render fealty and service for the same.' These chieftains held controul over their immediate retainers, whilst they themselves were subject to conditions strictly analogous to those which formerly prevailed in Europe.

'Contemplating the whole system in Sindh, it was strikingly similar to that of the ancient feudal government of our own early period of history, and not much more barbarous in its plan and effects. Improvement or amelioration can have no place in such a government: the leading policy is to treat all other nations with jealousy and suspicion as likely to interfere with the selfish and exclusive order of things, exorbitant exactions and oppressions on all classes but their own, distinguished the Bilúchi faction; there was no feeling of unanimity between them and the mass of the people, the conquerors and the conquered. Trade and manufacture languished, and the country, with its great capabilities, was sacrificed to misgovernment. Such must inevitably be the result of the selfish policy pursued, and a further consequence was that apathetic indifference in the people to which we have before alluded.'—p. 233.

Of the character of the Sindhian chiefs, the following sketch is given by our author, which appears to be well entitled to the confidence of his readers:

'A general review of the characters of those chiefs collectively leads to the conclusion, that to semi-barbarism and its attendant evils of ignorance and arrogance may be attributed the mainspring of most of those errors of which they have been accused, but which have always existed in the same stage and state of society. Thus the possession of a fine and wonderfully capable country, whose capacities would have been developed by more civilised rulers, was looked upon by these only as a selfish means of personal gratification, and its advantages sacrificed accordingly. Mean and avaricious, the accumulation of wealth at the expense of their possessions by excessive taxation on skill and industry, were the vital faults of misgovernment, proving at the same time how grossly ignorant and short-sighted a system they pursued. As feudatory chiefs of a conquered country, they were bound to acknowledge the extensive claims of their ignorant and wild feudatories, and these knew no form of government, and cared for none other than that which provided for their own immediate rights and interests. The sole end and aim therefore of the Sindhian Amirs was to hoard up riches, conciliate their retainers, and enjoy themselves after their own fashion, looking upon all ameliorating and improving systems as interferences against which they were bound to place the most decided barriers. Though by no means cruel—for they were singularly free from this common vice of absolute rulers—they were necessarily arbitrary and despotic to the mass of their subjects, as evinced in the condition of the latter, which was debased and degraded under the system of government pursued. Unambitious of conquest and of foreign alliances, they looked merely to pass as independent princes, uncared for by other states, and as much as possible unknown. The individual merits of these chiefs apart from

their faults, which were those of circumstances, consisted in the exercise of the domestic virtues, which are always so conspicuous in the East, and in the ruder though not less pleasing qualities of hospitality, urbanity, and gratitude for favours conferred. Of the few distinguished British officers who have had an opportunity of being closely connected in the course of official and friendly intercourse, a favourable impression was invariably produced; and though our first visits to their courts induced feelings of contempt for their want of candour and shallow artifices to conceal their childish suspicion of our purposes, these feelings were succeeded in after years by more generous sentiments, the result of a liberal view of their position and its attendant consequences. Judging therefore of the Amirs of Sindh, whether as rulers or individuals, let us not, as members of a highly enlightened and civilised nation, be too ready to condemn, but making due allowance for the never-failing consequences of a rude and uncivilised state of society, temper our verdict with liberality, and accord that consideration which, from our many advantages, we are so well able to afford.'—pp. 227—230.

Our connection with Sindh through the medium of the Indian government commenced in 1758, when Ghúllam Shah Kalora granted an order to Mr. Sumption, of the Company's service, for the establishment of a factory in his territories. Of the events which followed it is not our present purpose to speak, nor shall we enter into the brief narrative furnished by our author of the recent invasion and conquest of the country. Another chapter has been added to the history of British crime in India, and Lord Ellenborough will have the unenviable honour of being associated, in the judgment of posterity, with acts as ruthless and murderous as any which have disgraced the annals of our country. He may probably receive the thanks of a partisan legislature, but the unbiassed judgment of the intelligent and virtuous of all classes is against him. We envy not his fame, and would not be implicated in the guilt which his policy has contracted for all the wealth and honour that statesmen can confer. When will the subjects of Britain arouse themselves to a sense of their responsibilities, and by constituting a legislature fairly expressive of the public mind, save themselves from the guilt of being involved in transactions so deeply criminal as those which have recently occurred in the East?

We thank Capt. Postans for the information furnished in his volume, and recommend it to the early perusal of our readers. It is evidently the production of an intelligent, frank, and honourable mind, somewhat influenced it may be—though unconsciously—by professional predilections and national self-love.

Art. VIII. *The Age of Great Cities ; or Modern Society viewed in its relation to Intelligence, Morals, and Religion.* By Robert Vaughan, D.D. 8vo. p. 373. London : Jackson & Walford.

SEVEN centuries ago, the aristocracy of this kingdom were in full enjoyment of all the privileges and distinctions of feudal power. Castles, whose frowning battlements overawed the surrounding population, covered the land. It was then no difficult matter for the mailed hand of the baron to seize, as spoil, the choicest possessions of his vassals. So influential were these nobles, that even majesty was checked by them, whilst the little towns, struggling into existence, were scourged by their rapacity. Commerce was held in the greatest contempt, and the merchant whose industry and perseverance had secured an ample return of wealth, became, forthwith, a mark for the avarice of the baron, to whose exactions he was subject. Gradually, the middle or trading class increased throughout the kingdom. Towns assumed a greater importance. Intelligence cast its brightening ray over the long-gathered mists of the dark ages. Feudal tyranny and the right of might struggled—but unsuccessfully—with the advance of civilization. Men were no longer content to bow their necks to the yoke of serfdom. They claimed that the rights of their property should be respected, and that their bodies and lives should no longer be in the power of an irresponsible oligarchy. Public opinion—comparatively weak though it was—prevailed, and the aristocracy sought other methods of plundering the ‘ignoble’ classes. The mode was changed, but still their grasp was unrelaxed. A parliament, composed chiefly of landowners and the descendants of the feudal nobility, had no difficulty, under the guise of legislative enactments, in securing that amount of support which had been previously wrested from the unwilling *bourgeois* by the edge of the sword, and the terrors of the dungeon. We cannot look back, without feelings of deep melancholy, upon the black details of corruption, spoliation, and injustice, which have been perpetrated by acts of parliament, or under the authority of the British government, during the last five centuries. The results of this long course of legislative iniquity are visible everywhere around us, in the evils under which the nation is groaning.

With the growth of large towns arose a spirit of intelligence and determination strongly opposed to the selfish views of the oligarchy. Men began to see that a house of representatives, in whose election the main body of the people had no voice, was a mockery. They no longer regarded things as just, because they were legal. The knowledge, that they had been the victims of



the selfishness of a class, led to the demand for equal rights and a full representation. The aristocracy were forced to yield to the power of the great cities, and in 1832 another epoch in the history of the decline of feudalism was reached. We are not of the number of those who lightly estimate the advantages obtained by the Reform Bill. It enfranchised the citizens of many great cities, and thereby secured an immense increase of popular influence upon the governing body of this kingdom. It will thus prove to be only the stepping stone to still greater changes, which are now rising in the political horizon, and will ere long accomplish the utter destruction of feudal injustice.

It will be obvious, from the above retrospective glance, that great cities have been the most powerful opponents of the claims of the nobility. Large numbers of men associated together in towns require no protection from a feudal superior, and therefore owe him no gratitude, and are disposed to yield him no service. The peaceful tendency of commerce is essentially opposed to the feudal or military spirit. Hence, it is not surprising that the aristocracy have no pleasure in witnessing the rapid progress of our manufacturing system. That which adds to the comfort, and raises the social position of the mass, is regarded with jealousy and with hatred, because it lessens the influence of the privileged classes. 'During several centuries,' says Dr. Vaughan, 'the forms and the spirit which characterize modern society, have been making their way into the place of those which were characteristic of society in the middle age. But every fresh manifestation of strength on the side of the new, has become the occasion of a deeper jealousy, and of a more active hostility, on the side of the parties adhering to the old.' Vain attempts are consequently made to restore the lordly and priestly power of former times, and every obstruction is presented to the progress of the new course of society. The slightest connexion with trade is accounted a degradation, and the highest rank is sullied, if its possessor is so unfortunate as to be descended from mercantile forefathers. Great cities are denounced as great evils, and the wretchedness and depravity of the civic population are described in the most glowing terms. Even Sir Robert Peel, who owes everything to manufacturing industry, and who, on other occasions, has fully admitted the vast importance of commercial prosperity, so far forgot himself, in his attempts to please his sullen aristocratical supporters, as to sneer at the idea of this country becoming covered with 'dull manufacturing towns connected by railways.' But if we wish to form a correct idea of the bitter hostility manifested by the majority of our legislators towards great cities, we must seek it

in the newspapers devoted to their interests. The *Morning Post* is of opinion that 'while the people of all ranks, or all degrees of property, in the crowded manufacturing districts, are what they are, it is a moral impossibility that they should be tranquil, wise, or happy.' And the *Standard* asserts, that 'England would be as great and powerful, and all useful Englishmen would be as rich as they are, though one ruin should engulf all the manufacturing towns and districts of Great Britain!' When opinions such as these are promulgated in leading journals, and are supported by honourable gentlemen and noble lords, it becomes important that the public should be made fully acquainted with the characteristics of great cities, in order that it may be seen whether they are beneficial or injurious to the nation. The inquiry—peculiarly necessary at the present crisis,—is, in its nature, an exceedingly interesting one, and we are therefore highly gratified that it has been illustrated by the excellent author of the work before us. Dr. Vaughan's is essentially a book for the times. It displays a profundity of thought, an aptness of illustration, and, in many passages, an eloquence of diction, which will amply sustain the reputation of its author.

In pursuing the inquiry, we shall freely avail ourselves of the important suggestions with which his volume abounds. We propose, therefore, to lay before our readers statements illustrative of the intellectual, moral, religious, and physical condition of the two great classes of our fellow-subjects—the manufacturing inhabitants of towns, and the prædial population of the rural districts. In doing this, we shall mainly direct our observations to the state of things in this kingdom; merely premising, that the same general characteristics are found to prevail, under various modifications, in other countries.

In a kingdom where the education of children depends in a great measure upon the ability of their parents to support schoolmasters, it must be obvious that a poor and scattered population are placed in a most disadvantageous position. Many villages are too small to support a teacher, even of the humblest pretensions; and in those country districts which can boast of possessing a schoolmaster, that functionary is rarely much superior to the class whom he has to instruct. Men of ability will naturally seek in large towns for a profitable sphere for their labour, and it is therefore only an inferior grade of teachers who are driven to the rural districts to seek a scanty subsistence. Towns, too, have all the benefit arising from the competition of schoolmasters, who will naturally strive, by superior methods of instruction, and by greater diligence in their duties, to secure



more extensive support; whilst, on the contrary, the single instructor of a village has no stimulus either to exertion or to improvement. The poor monopoly which he enjoys has the natural effect of withering his energies.

But the advantages arising from the association of the inhabitants of towns are not confined to the superiority of their schoolmasters. In almost every large city we find that benevolent individuals have established and endowed schools for the express benefit of the poorer classes, who would otherwise be left without the means of providing a primary education for their children. These institutions for gratuitous instruction, when well conducted, are of immense service in raising the intellectual and moral character of civic communities.

In towns the influence of the more wealthy inhabitants is exerted to promote education. The manufacturer has a direct interest in doing this. He knows that a well-informed man makes the best servant, and that the security of his property can best be preserved by elevating the character of his workpeople. On the other hand, the clergy and landowners have no such motives. These classes—with few honourable exceptions—have never evinced any great anxiety to educate the agricultural population. When they have found that means of instruction have been established, then they have used their influence in giving a certain direction to those means. Ignorance would be preferred; but if the villagers must have knowledge, the squire and the clergyman are anxious that *they* should impart it. Dr. Vaughan remarks that—

‘The maxim in such connexions appears in general to be, that the amount of such instruction should always be very small, and that *to dispense with it, even in its humblest form, would be far better than that it should fail of making obedience to the village authorities the greatest of virtues*. With many persons of this class the idea of education, in the case of working-people, is always associated with a morbid dread of disaffection and disobedience. Inasmuch, as it is not possible that a villager should be taught to read, in order to his reading such books as may be placed in his hands by his superiors in the parish, without his being exposed to the danger of reading books which may come to him through some less orthodox channel, it is not uncommon to hear these cautious guardians of the popular feeling speak of the schooling of such minds, in any measure, as of very questionable utility.’—p. 148.

The natural result is, that in many rural districts education is entirely neglected, and in others it is provided in a very partial manner.

In speaking of education we too often confine our views of the term to the mere primary education which is imparted in schools.



It should not be forgotten, however, that every man is educated by the various circumstances in which he is placed, and by the oral instruction which he receives in his communion with his fellow-men. A man may be educated in many respects without being possessed of the knowledge of letters or the ability to write. These, it is true, are important channels through which his mind may be reached, but they are not the only ones. The tools which the workman uses, the machinery that he superintends, the speeches which he listens to at public meetings, the scientific lectures at a Mechanics' Institution, the exhibitions of specimens of the Fine Arts and of Natural History, the newspapers which are read to him, or the religious services which he attends, are all powerful means of education. In this view of the case, every great city is a great school-house, and every citizen a scholar. Almost every set of workmen employed together in a workshop or manufactory comprises some who have the advantage of possessing a tolerable education. The influence of these over the others is very considerable. They are, in fact, teachers of their fellow operatives, to whom, by reading or communicating information, they are of important service. But it is obvious that prædial occupation precludes anything of the kind. In the agricultural districts the educational influences are necessarily limited. Day follows day with its unvaried routine of labour, and the tiller of the fields, if unable to read books or to procure them, has few other opportunities of obtaining any instruction. Dissociated from his fellow-men, the influence of a more intelligent or better-informed mind is rarely felt, and the village church, or dissenting chapel, too often neglected, furnish the only means by which his intellect can be expanded, and his moral character elevated.

It is not surprising, therefore, that an investigation of the respective intelligence of the manufacturing and agricultural operatives should prove to be so much in favour of the former. Dr. Cooke Taylor, in his 'Tour,' which we introduced to our readers a few months since, on numerous occasions, gives evidence of the great amount of information possessed by factory operatives with whom he conversed. Men who had toiled at the loom or in the spinning mill, from their earliest years, and who had never enjoyed the advantage of what is generally understood by the term education, conversed with considerable ability, and astonished the Doctor by the promptness of their replies and the extent of their information. These were citizens of great cities.

Dr. Vaughan has ably shewn

'That men possess nothing deserving the name of literature until they begin to build cities; that literature, the offspring of society, as it obtains in cities, derives its character from the state of that society, varying with

all the stages of social progress ; and that the effect of commerce, in augmenting small towns into great cities, has been to give to literature, in our own age, a much more popular character than has attached to it in any preceding time. Let the influence of a commercial spirit on modern nations cease, and popular literature will cease. Let the great cities of Europe be accounted an evil, and let the course of legislation be to depress and subdue them, reducing them to the state of so many passive victims in the hands of the masters of the soil, and the consequences of such an ingrate policy must be, the destruction of literature in every form, and the return—the retributive return of an unlettered barbarism.’—p. 145.

A striking illustration of the above remarks, is afforded by a fact, now well known, that of 60,000 copies published weekly of Chambers’ *Edinburgh Journal*, 59,000 are sold in the manufacturing districts, leaving only 1,000 to satisfy the demand of the agricultural population. The sale of this excellent periodical in Manchester alone, exceeds the number disposed of throughout the whole of agricultural Ireland. We have no doubt that similar statistics with reference to the *Penny Cyclopædia*, the *Penny Magazine*, and other popular publications, would furnish a like result.

But whilst we have every reason to be gratified with the instruction which many of our factory operatives have derived from the means placed within their reach, we have no wish to conceal the vast amount of ignorance which still exists, or to undervalue the importance of securing—to a far greater extent than has hitherto been accomplished—a good primary education for the people. A man who cannot read is often placed in a state of dependance upon minds which are not the best calculated to improve his own. In many cases he is affected by the narrow views and selfish prejudices which everywhere abound. His modes of thought are depraved, and he becomes a ready instrument in the hands of the designing, or the vicious. His means of instruction lie, in a great measure, beyond himself, and, as a consequence, it too often happens that he seeks excitement and mental gratification in the polluted streams which flow from the noisy speakers of a pot-house. Drunkenness and every species of depravity are thus frequently the results of the absence of mental culture in youth. Whilst, therefore, it is believed that great cities are necessarily schools of mutual instruction for their adult population, the importance of providing more extensive means of primary education deserves the serious consideration of every enlightened statesman, and of every one who desires the mental and moral advancement of his fellow-countrymen.

If we have to lament the large amount of ignorance prevailing in the manufacturing districts, a still more deplorable state of things



exists amongst the rural population. This might naturally have been anticipated from the consideration of the observations which we have already offered; and it is abundantly confirmed by the facts stated in Dr. Vaughan's chapter on 'popular education in rural districts.'

The experience of most of our readers, in their intercourse with farmers, must have convinced them that intelligence and information are rarely possessed, to any great extent, by that class of men. Many of them display the grossest ignorance, not only upon general subjects, but respecting the improvements which have been effected in the processes of agriculture; and we consequently find that, in most of the counties of England, the cultivation of the soil is carried on in a very slovenly manner. Generation after generation passes away, and still the character of farming operations remains stationary. Whilst everything else is progressing, and whilst manufactures are making rapid strides towards perfection, the most absurd modes of agriculture are tolerated, and the possibility of improvement never seems to cross the inactive mind of the farmer. He is content to tread in the beaten path of former ages, and he sinks into the grave, having effected no progress, to be followed in the same narrow policy by his dull successors. We trust, however, that events now transpiring, and changes, which seem to be rapidly hastening, will arouse the cultivators of the land from their present lethargic condition.

The state of education amongst farmers is illustrated by the 'Report of the Commissioners for inquiring into the Administration of the Poor Laws,' in which we are informed by Mr. Moylon, a revising barrister, that 'the general ignorance and stupidity of the overseers in country parishes, with whom he became acquainted in Cheshire and Nottinghamshire, surpassed anything which he could have previously conceived. In some of the parishes he found a + substituted for the overseer's signature to the list of voters. In some cases, where the overseer had not had recourse to the aid of others, his blunders were ludicrous.' Mr. Maclean, when revising the lists of voters in Sussex and Essex, 'found overseers apparently perfectly unable to comprehend, from reading the Reform Act, what they were required to do. Many were unable to write at all, and others could with difficulty affix their name to the list. Few were capable of furnishing any information, or of understanding that any distinction existed between a freehold and a leasehold qualification. Those lists which had any pretension to correctness, had been invariably written out by the parish schoolmaster, or under the advice and direction of some resident gentleman.' Similar evidence is given by other parties, and Mr. Flood, also a revi-



sing barrister, states that, on the eastern side of the county of Leicester, 'where the population *is exclusively agricultural*, he met with *a degree of ignorance he was utterly unprepared to find in a civilized country.*' When overseers, who must be regarded as favourable specimens of the class to which they belong, are thus found destitute of even the rudiments of education, what must be the case with the main body of farmers ?

But if the employers are debased in ignorance, we must naturally expect to find amongst the labourers a still lower grade of intelligence : and that such is the case must be well known to all our readers. From a report, recently published by the British and Foreign School Society, it appears that nearly one-half of the agricultural population over great part of England are unable to read. Indeed, we might traverse an agricultural district, from one end to the other, without finding a single labourer, whose information or powers of mind could bear the least comparison with those of multitudes of factory operatives. The weavers, as a class, are as much superior to the ploughmen, as the intelligent and active manufacturer is to the heavy-minded farmer.

We have entered, at some length, into this branch of the inquiry, because we believe that the influence of education and intelligence upon the progress of religion and morality can scarcely be over-estimated. Many other facts, in illustration, might have been added, but we have refrained from doing so, feeling assured that the considerations already advanced will satisfactorily demonstrate that Great Cities are, in the highest degree, conducive to the expansion of mind, and to the promotion of education amongst their inhabitants. We shall pass on, therefore, to the next branch of our subject.

In comparing the moral characteristics of cities and rural districts, it must always be borne in mind that, owing to the more effective police system established in large towns, crimes in such localities are more easily detected. In the country, too, the fear of revenge often prevents parties from exposing and bringing to punishment those who may have committed depredations on their property. We cannot, therefore, regard the government statistics of crime as by any means a satisfactory index of the relative morality of the agricultural and manufacturing population.

That there are forms of vice more prevalent in great cities than in rural districts, cannot be denied ; but even these have been greatly exaggerated.

'When it is remembered,' (says Dr. Vaughan,) 'that it has been well ascertained, that the women of known bad character in London do not exceed seven thousand, while even very recently they have been de-

scribed in print as amounting to sixty thousand, and even to eighty thousand; when it is remembered also, that the common thieves of the metropolis are known to be little more than three thousand, and that these have been described, not long ago, as numbering thirty thousand, it will be obvious that it becomes us to look on all reports of such matters with much misgiving, except as they are furnished upon such authority as should entitle them to credit. This number of delinquents, it must be borne in mind, is found among a population of nearly two millions; and much as we may deplore this amount of the immoral, the wonder, all things considered, is not that it is so great, but rather that it is not greater. Nor would it have been restrained within such limits, had not our great city been made the centre of a great moral power, wisely adapted to counteract the natural outbreaks of depravity.'—pp. 227, 228.

It is this 'great moral power,' conjoined with the superior intelligence of the inhabitants of large towns, and—as will hereafter be shewn—more extensive religious influences, which does much to weaken the unfavourable tendencies in relation to morals, arising from the facilities for vicious habits afforded in a crowded population. These facilities for vice are, it is true, very numerous, and the serious results of their existence cannot be contemplated without feelings of deep sorrow. Human depravity is not slow in finding means for the gratification of its evil passions, and in populous cities there are 'recesses in which every abomination may be practised, and no eye that might deter from the forbidden indulgence be the witness.' But it must not be supposed that immorality, in its worst forms, is confined to our civic communities. Dr. Vaughan remarks that, 'while the offences chargeable on our manufacturing districts, and on our cities and towns, are scrupulously registered against them, it cannot be consistent with justice that a veil should be allowed to rest on the same evils as affecting the home of the agriculturist. In the latter connexion, the exhibition of depravity, all things considered, is as great as in the former, while in the former there are *redeeming elements which have little or no place in the latter.*' Let us then briefly inquire into the moral characteristics of the rural population, for whom it is very much the fashion, in certain quarters, to claim a much higher degree of purity and virtue. Dr. Vaughan has quoted several passages from the First Report of the Constabulary Force Commissioners, on the 'state of the rural districts in respect of crime committed by resident delinquents,' from which it appears that, in many parishes, sheep and horse stealing, thefts of wood, poultry, turnips, &c., and malicious injuries to property, are very prevalent.

Mr. Cobden, in an admirable speech which he recently delivered in the House of Commons, addressing the landowners,



asked, 'What is the present condition of the labourer in the agricultural districts? Is not crime increasing in the same proportion as pauperism has increased? Why, in some of the excursions I have made into your regions, I heard it stated that the actual returns of your petty sessions and your assizes, furnish no criterion as to the state of demoralization in your districts; nay, I heard that such was the extent of petty pilfering and crime, that you are obliged to wink at it, or you would not be able to carry out the business of your criminal courts. I heard that, both in Somersetshire and in Wiltshire.' Dr. Vaughan, on the authority of the report above alluded to, gives similar testimony.

'We have reason to believe that village depredations of this nature, by 'resident delinquents,' are common to much the greater part of the country. The sufferers often make little effort to detect the offenders, because, to prosecute would be to expose themselves to revenge, in the firing of their property, the maiming of their cattle, or other mischiefs. Farmers' men often plunder their employers, being encouraged by parties from a distance, whom they meet at the village public-house or beer-shop. Large quantities of farm produce may be subtracted by such men without its being missed, and embarrassment and ruin ensue to the farmer almost without the cause being suspected. Nor is the little property of labouring men more safe than that of the farmer. Many such men have been ready to give up their allotment system, from so often finding, that the labour to sow, in their case, was only that the village thief might reap. In such cases the delinquents are generally parties who extend their depredations to a number of parishes around.'—pp. 244, 245.

This is a fearful picture; but can it be wondered at, when we remember that ignorance, the parent of crime, prevails to a most alarming extent amongst the agricultural labourers?

Another criterion for judging of the morality of the rural population is furnished by a fact stated in the Poor Law Report, that of '1,847 pauper children in the workhouses of Norfolk and Suffolk, little more than a twelvemonth since, not less than 543 are classed as illegitimate.'

The conduct of the peasantry, in seasons of agricultural distress, must be well known to all our readers. Incendiarism spreads from county to county with fearful rapidity, and evidences a brutal spirit of revenge which could only be found in a half-civilized and degraded population. The contrast between such a spirit and that which actuated the distressed rioters in the manufacturing districts, last autumn, is sufficiently striking, and can only be accounted for on the ground of the superior moral and intellectual culture of the factory operatives.

It is frequently asserted that the nature of the employment in factories has a necessary tendency to increase immorality.



The evidence to the contrary, however, is by no means slight. Sir Charles Shaw, in a paper read at the Manchester meeting of the British Association, on the 'cases brought before the police of Manchester on Saturdays and Sundays, from the 22d of January to the 15th of June, 1842,' states that 'the number apprehended during the period named consisted of 440 males and 206 females. Of this number 320 had been out of employment, on an average, nearly nine months previously; and of the 646 offenders, *not more than seventeen were factory operatives.*'

Mr. Tufnel, a factory Commissioner, having carefully investigated the subject, with especial reference to the charge of lictentiousness arising from the intermingling of persons of both sexes in factories, asserts that 'the whole concurrent testimony goes to prove that the charges made against cotton factories on the ground of immorality are calumnies.'

With reference to the same subject, Dr. W. C. Taylor remarks, that 'the chief cause of immorality in Manchester is not the aggregation in the factories, but the want of domestic accommodation when the mills are closed. I obtained a singular confirmation of this fact from one of the most respectable cotton spinners in Lancashire; he kept a list of all the intrigues detected in his very large establishment, and in nine instances out of ten the seducers did not belong to the same mill as the seduced.'

We shall only quote the testimony of another witness. The Rev. Mr. Parkinson, a highly respectable clergyman resident in Manchester, at a meeting of the subscribers to the Night Asylum, in the course of a most excellent speech, said: 'My birth and early education put me in a very different position from the one in which I now am; but being now an inhabitant of Manchester—having had ample opportunity of observing and judging—and being in a position where I can have no motive for a partial judgment, I maintain that, if we can strike an average of all classes of our population and the population of other districts, we shall find that the morality of this district will not be below that of the most primitive agricultural population. I have the authority of a high military officer, and also that of other persons, for saying that the streets of Manchester, at ten o'clock at night, are as retired as those of the most rural districts. When we look at the extent of this parish, containing at least 300,000 souls—more than the population of the half of our counties—can we be surprised that there is a great amount of immorality? But a great proportion of that immorality is committed by those who have been already nursed in crime in districts of the country supposed to be more innocent than our

own, and are apparently added to the number of those who swell our police reports, *not so much because we hold out greater facilities in rearing them, as that they are apprehended through the superior vigilance of our police.* I think it desirable that I should state this as being an impartial observer, and one coming from a distant part of the country.'

The consideration of the religious tendencies of great cities is, of course, intimately connected with that of their moral characteristics. Dr. Vaughan has entered largely into the question, and we fully concur with the conclusions at which he has arrived. The influence of commercial engagements might naturally be regarded, *a priori*, as producing a worldly frame of mind unfavorable to spiritual impressions. And this, undoubtedly, is, in too many cases, the fact. The cares of this world swallow up all concern about another. The excitement arising from the struggle for present wealth leaves little desire for 'eternal riches.' But whilst lamenting the unfavorable tendency of commercial pursuits in this respect, we must not overlook their beneficial influences. We have already attempted to prove—we hope successfully—that great cities are productive of intelligence and mental activity, and therefore unless we are of opinion that 'ignorance is the mother of devotion,' we shall believe that the superior intellectual character of civic communities must necessarily promote their religious advancement. Dr. Vaughan well remarks, 'that, on the whole, the state of society which tasks the reasoning power of man so as to call it forth in its largest development, is that which must prove most favorable both to morality and religion, as certainly as that the service of both is eminently a reasonable service.' And there is abundant evidence of the truth of the assumption. If we go into any of our large towns we shall find that their inhabitants, by voluntary efforts, have erected many churches and chapels, and by the support of town missionaries, the establishment of Sunday schools, the distribution of tracts, &c., are earnestly engaged in the promotion of religion. In many instances the rural districts are indebted to the pious zeal of their commercial fellow-countrymen for means of religious and moral advancement which they would otherwise be totally destitute of. It was the religious feeling of the citizens of our great cities that abolished slavery; and it is the wealth arising from our commerce that chiefly supports the various societies, existing in this kingdom, for the evangelization of the world.

It is freely admitted that villages have all the advantage of the influence of the higher classes being exerted to secure attention to the forms of religion. In a large population such influence cannot be used. The operatives, on the Sabbath, are



left to themselves, and their employers have not the power, even though they had the will, to compel their attendance upon religious services. The agricultural population are so entirely dependent upon the squire of the parish, and at the same time so completely under his notice, that he, or the clergyman, has no difficulty in securing a tolerably regular attendance at church. But the vitality of religion is rarely found. Superstition goes hand in hand with ignorance, and the routine worship has no power to emancipate the mind of the rustic laborer from its impure and degrading sympathies.

'If you look,' says Dr. Vaughan, 'to any space embracing some twenty thousand agriculturalists, it will be found that the number of them who altogether neglect public worship is not inconsiderable; and let the religious intelligence, and the religious feeling of the numbers who do attend such worship, be compared with those of the same number attending as worshippers in the churches and chapels of our towns and cities, and in this respect, as in almost every other, the scale will be seen to turn greatly in favor of a city population.'—p. 308.

It is not therefore a matter of surprise that Roman catholicism is more prevalent in agricultural countries than in civic communities. Commerce, which gives the mind a keen perception of the realities of life, and promotes a spirit of investigation and independence, has no sympathy with the puerility of saintly miracles, or with the blind obedience required by an intolerant priesthood. The tendency of Roman catholicism is passive and stationary, that of commerce is active and progressive. The natural results of this discrepancy are visible in every European state. And here we cannot do better than quote the excellent observations of 'A Manchester Manufacturer,' (now well known to be Mr. Cobden,) in his work on 'England, Ireland, and America.' 'Probably,' he remarks, 'there is no country in which the effects of the Catholic and Reformed religions upon the temporal career of communities may be more fairly tested than in Switzerland. Of twenty-two cantons, ten are, in the majority of the population, Catholic; eight Protestant; and the remaining four are mixed, in nearly equal proportions of Protestants and Catholics. *Those cantons in which the Catholic faith prevails are wholly pastoral in their pursuits, possessing no commerce or manufacturing industry beyond the rude products of domestic labour. Of the mixed cantons three are engaged in the manufacture of cotton; and it is a remarkable feature in the industry of these, that the Catholic portion of their population is wholly addicted to agricultural, and the Protestant section to commercial pursuits. All the eight Protestant cantons are, more or less, engaged in manufactures.* Nor must we omit to add, which every traveller in Switzerland will have seen, that in the educa-



tion of the people, the cleanliness of the towns, the commodiousness of the inns, and the quality of the roads, the Protestant cantons possess a great superiority over their Catholic neighbours—whilst such is the difference in the value of land, that an estate in Friburg, a Catholic canton possessing a richer soil than that of Berne, from which it is divided only by a rivulet, is worth one-third less than the same extent of property in the latter Protestant district.'

Similar illustrations might be taken from France, Germany, &c.; and, nearer home, we may find in Ireland a wretched and Catholic population devoted to agriculture, whilst her staple manufacture is almost entirely confined to the Protestant district.

The above considerations have led us to believe that the progress of the Reformation depended, in no slight degree, upon great cities, and had not these existed, it seems highly probable that the fervid zeal of a Luther or of a Melancthon, would have failed in overthrowing the ignorant superstition of a scattered European population bound in the chains of feudalism. We have no hesitation in asserting that purity of religion depends, in a vast measure, upon the continued existence and expansion of commercial towns. Great cities are as much opposed to religious feudalism as to civil. Puseyism may spread amongst the class with whose prejudices it is accordant, and whose pride it gratifies, as investing them with 'apostolic succession,' and priestly power, and it may receive some support from our rural population, but it will meet with no sympathy in our manufacturing communities. Let our great cities prosper, and we fear not for the rights and the blessings of protestantism. Let them be crushed by wicked laws and absurd restrictions upon trade, and the superstitious in religion, with the barbarism of society, will speedily follow.

It now only remains for us to consider great cities in relation to the physical condition of their inhabitants. And we are aware that the opponents of our commercial system, often point to large towns as being destructive to health, comfort, and social enjoyments. The labour in factories is denounced as the fertile cause of disease, and the destitution of vast numbers of the civic community is made a charge against the humanity of mill-owners, or is described as the necessary result of a crowded population. Then the country is pointed to as a contrast, and we are favoured with poetic images and visionary ideas about the comforts of a thatched cottage, and the beneficence of land-owners, with many other pleasing descriptions of the Arcadian felicity of rural life. In these representations there is a vast amount of error. The sunny side of the village picture is paraded,

whilst its darker features are hidden. On the other hand, certain evils found in great cities, are exaggerated, or are attributed to wrong causes. In attempting to arrive at the truth, we must necessarily be brief, and content ourselves with suggestive reflections instead of more elaborate discussion.

First, then, in judging of the physical evils of great cities, we should carefully distinguish between those which *necessarily attach to them*, and those which it would be *quite possible to remove*. Thus, there is an immense amount of disease and mortality occasioned in towns through the want of proper drainage, ventilation, &c. The Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the sanitary condition of the labouring population, has brought to light details of the most appalling description. 'It appears that in one year, 56,461 persons are carried off in England and Wales by epidemic, endemic, and contagious diseases, including fever, typhus, and scarlatina. This is as if Westmoreland or Huntingdon were entirely depopulated annually. The great proportion of this mortality is entirely ascribable to causes which are *removable*.' The commissioners recommend certain measures to be adopted, which, there appears every reason to believe, would materially improve the sanitary condition of the labouring classes. It is to be hoped, therefore, that government will speedily give effect to the wise regulations proposed in the Report. But even the evils of the nature above referred to, are not confined to our great cities. Mr. T. H. Smith, surgeon to the Bromley Union, states that 'it is almost incredible that so many sources of malaria should exist in a rural district. A total absence of all provision for effectual drainage around cottages, is the most prominent source of malaria. The refuse vegetable and animal matters, are also thrown by the cottagers in heaps near their dwellings to decompose; are sometimes not removed except at very long intervals; and are always permitted to remain sufficiently long to accumulate in some quantity. Pigsties are generally near the dwellings, and are always surrounded by decomposing matters. These constitute some of the many sources of malaria, and peculiarly deserve attention as being easily remedied.' Other evidence, of a similar character, is given.

It is made a charge against great cities, that they abound in pauperism, and our readers need not be told that, at the present time, the manufacturing districts are suffering under an unparalleled state of depression. All our towns are filled with destitution and misery. Many of their inhabitants, crowded together in damp cellars, exposed to noxious physical influences, and unable to procure the common necessities of life, gradually sink under their privations, or are carried off by typhus fever and other



diseases. But can we suppose that these evils are the necessary result of our manufacturing system, or that they are to be attributed to the 'overgrowth' of our great cities? The assumption would be a libel upon the goodness of Providence. God, who said to man, 'in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,' has also provided bread for the industry of man to earn. That class, therefore, who, for selfish purposes of their own, withhold the blessing, are solemnly responsible for the vast amount of destitution, at present existing in our civic communities.

Secondly, in judging of the physical evils of great cities, we should carefully avoid being misled by the *many exaggerated statements* which it suits the purpose of some parties to make. Many such statements have reference to the cruelty of manufacturers towards their workpeople, which is a theme that often excites the declamatory powers of the feudalists. They fall into the common mistake of believing that they can cover their own transgressions by blackening the character of others, and *they desire, also, to weaken the power of great cities by sowing disunion and strife amongst their inhabitants.* Now, we do not claim for the manufacturers, as a body, the highest virtues, or imagine that their character is wholly devoid of defects. But this we do say, that the charges against them have been greatly exaggerated, and that single instances of tyrannous conduct, on the part of a few, have been unjustly regarded as the attributes of all. Our own acquaintance with many of their 'order,' enables us fully to confirm the honourable testimony borne in their favour by Dr. Cooke Taylor, whose remarks we quoted on a former occasion.\* Much of the apparent severity exercised towards the operative classes, has been entirely occasioned by the depression of trade. Reduction of wages, which is often so much talked about, can only be effected when the supply of labour exceeds the demand. The blame, therefore, rests with the laws which decrease employment, or rather with the supporters of them, and not with the manufacturers.

As an illustration of the manner in which a 'case' is attempted to be got up against the manufacturers, we may refer to the evidence given before the committee appointed last session, on the motion of Mr. Ferrand, to inquire into the 'payment of wages,' or, in other words, the 'truck system.' We have now the Report of the Committee before us, and it abounds in evidence of the most faulty and questionable character. It will, perhaps, be interesting to give one or two examples. A person of the name of Autey, one of Mr. Ferrand's witnesses, is asked, [Q. 113] 'Do you, yourself, know of any shops which are kept

\* E. R. vol. xii. (No. 6,) pp. 459, 460.



by manufacturers for the purpose of distributing goods to the workpeople?—and the answer is, ‘I know of shops only from the evidence of persons who got the goods from the shops; *I never saw the shops myself.*’ The same witness underwent the following examination, which is very instructive:—

[Q. 83.] ‘How long is it since you began to inquire into this practice?—Since about Whitsuntide this year, and the week before; *it was the time when Mr. Ferrand brought this motion forward.*’

[Q. 84.] ‘Not previously to the present Parliament?—No.’

[Q. 85.] ‘*Then your knowledge is all of recent date?*—Yes.’

Another man, also summoned by Mr. Ferrand, underwent the following examination:—

[Q. 298.] ‘What is the expression which the workpeople at Bingley use now when they are in their master’s books?—I have heard working men remark, that they were not safe to retain employment unless they were in their ‘masters’ ribs.’

[Q. 299.] ‘What is the meaning of that expression, ‘their masters’ ribs?’—It is in debt to their master.’

[Q. 300.] ‘Have you heard that in Bingley?—Yes, in a great many instances.’

[Q. 301.] ‘Are there not some very respectable masters in Bingley?—Yes, for anything I know to the contrary.’

[Q. 302.] ‘It is not all the masters that do this in Bingley?—No, *only one.*’

[Q. 307.] ‘Do you know the master under whom the man worked who was paid seven years by truck?—No; I know his name.’

[Q. 308.] ‘Do you know whether he has a shop?—Yes.’

[Q. 309.] ‘*Have you seen the shop yourself?*—*I have not*, but the workmen stated that he had a shop.’

Notwithstanding their evident desire to support, as far as possible, Mr. Ferrand’s allegations, his witnesses are compelled to acknowledge that the truck system is not by any means prevalent, but is confined to a few small manufacturers. One of them, in reply to the question [951] ‘Did you ever hear of any concern at *Manchester* that carries on the truck system?’ answers, ‘Yes, there is *one*, of my own knowledge:’ and in the immense town of Manchester, besides that one shop, ‘he never knew any of them.’ Several witnesses, clergymen, and others, give evidence of the existence of the truck system in rural districts.

Had we space, we might quote statistical tables, on medical authorities, which would amply demonstrate that the belief in the unhealthy tendencies of factory employment has little or no foundation. Two highly important papers on this subject were read before the Statistical Section of the British Association at Manchester. One, ‘On the Vital Statistics of the Spinners and Piecers employed in the Fine Spinning Mills of Manchester,’ was

contributed by Mr. Alderman Shuttleworth, who was requested to undertake the inquiry, 'as a person wholly unconnected with the spinning business, and having no interested feeling in the result of the investigation.' The other paper was 'On the Influence of the Factory System in the development of Pulmonary Consumption,' by Mr. Noble, an eminent medical practitioner, resident in Manchester. The conclusions of both gentlemen are the same, and satisfactorily prove that factory labour has no direct tendency to produce disease. In the course of the discussion which followed Mr. Shuttleworth's paper, it was stated by Mr. E. Chadwick, the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, that at the village of Catrine, in Ayrshire, it had been ascertained that the annual rate of mortality was only 1 in 54, and that *in the mills of Deanston the health of the operatives was far superior to that of the surrounding rural population*. Statistical inquiries on this subject had been recently made in Austria with the most satisfactory results. The average sickness among the operatives was found to be only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  days per annum, which is not quite half of the average sickness in Mr. Shuttleworth's Tables.

And, lastly, in receiving statements respecting the physical evils of great cities, we should carefully investigate *the quarter from whence they proceed*. From our own knowledge, we can testify that in manufacturing towns those who are the loudest in their denunciations of manufacturers, and the factory system, are *seldom factory operatives*. They are generally men who have obviously a purpose to serve, and who attempt to secure influence with the people by exciting their worst passions, and by vilifying the character of their employers. Recent events have shown that some of these men are paid by the landowners. Their violent addresses meet with support, *principally*, from that large class of men who, owing to the depression of trade, are *without means of employment*, and are therefore easily exasperated. In prosperous times these unprincipled 'agitators' are never heard of.

There is this great difference between the relative position of manufacturers and farmers towards their workpeople. In large towns, when a grievance exists the people assemble together, and are loud in their complaints, petitions are often sent to Parliament, and a large amount of public attention is immediately secured. But the agricultural labourers are too scattered to act in concert. Being completely under the dominion of their superiors they are compelled to submit, without an audible murmur, to inflictions of the most severe character, and it is only when driven to desperation that by midnight incendiarism they startle the public to a consideration of the extent of their grievances.

We are, however, in possession of facts which at once destroy the illusions about 'Arcadian felicity,' at all events as far as the agricultural labourers are concerned. We may often hear about 'neat cottages embosomed in trees,' but we are not told of such cottages as are found on the estate of Mr. Bankes, the member for Dorset, and which are 'dug out of the hill-side, with no masonry about them, but a roughly-reared front wall. The furniture in those places is as mean as the structure containing it, and the inhabitants are as uncivilized as either. There is barely room to stand upright in them; and in one apartment persons of both sexes, of all ages, are huddled together, with a scanty covering, consisting partly of the clothes worn in the day, and partly of rags that would shame the name of blankets or sheets. The medical officer to the Poor Law Union made a report last November, stating *these places to be unfit for human habitations*, which report was *not then attended to*; but in *consequence of diseases being contracted, which cannot be cured while the patient continues in them*, this gentleman *has again reported the evils arising from them to public health.*' We might add other facts, but it is sufficient to mention, what is universally known, that the *fully-employed* labourers throughout the rural districts can scarcely support life upon their miserable pittance, and that the condition of vast numbers who are only partially employed, or who are entirely without work, is too melancholy for adequate description.

During the prosperous years of 1834-5, large numbers of agricultural labourers migrated to the manufacturing districts, and the feelings of these people are well shown by some of the statements given in the Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the condition of the borough of Stockport. We shall select one instance. 'Thomas White, labourer; wife and eleven children; five of them, only, under working age; the eldest girl, 21. We found the woman at home; united earnings of the family 50s. a week. She appeared in great spirits, and being asked whether she would like to go back to the South, said *she would rather be transported.*' And even those who are now without means of employment, and are in a destitute condition, evince the greatest antipathy to being 'transported' to their native villages. This fact speaks volumes.

Great cities, viewed in relation to the physical condition of their inhabitants, have all the advantages arising from association. Dispensaries, Infirmarys, and other institutions for providing gratuitous medical aid to the poorer classes, are found in every large town. In such localities, also, Night Asylums, Strangers' Friend Societies, and many other charitable associations are extensively supported. Indeed, it would be scarcely



possible to name the variety of forms in which the wealthier inhabitants of large towns unite for benevolent purposes. And then, too, there are sick clubs and friendly societies, supported by the operatives themselves, by means of which they make provisions for the relief of the physical evils to which they are exposed. The number of such societies, in this kingdom, is immense, and is highly gratifying, as it manifests an honourable independence of mind, which leads the operatives to shrink from receiving parochial relief. It would be difficult to estimate the vast amount of good arising from the provision, which is thus made, for cases of illness and misfortune. But it is obvious that amongst a scattered population, institutions of the nature above referred to cannot be adequately supported, and are consequently rarely found.

It would appear, then, from all that has been advanced, that great cities are, on the whole, highly promotive of the intelligence, morals, religion, and physical comforts of the community; and that many of the evils which at present characterize them arise either from causes which might be removed, or from the operation of bad laws which ought to be abolished. It is our firm conviction that all classes benefit, more or less, from the existence of large towns. Nor do we except the landowners. The extension of manufacturing towns cannot take place without greatly increasing the value of the land upon which they are built. An instance of this is afforded by the forest of Rossendale, in Lancashire. That forest might have been more in accordance with feudal tastes when it was covered with noble oaks, and abounded in deer. But, mark the change! After it was disforested, in the time of James I., the annual rental was valued at 122*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*,—now, in consequence of the progress of manufactures, the annual value is estimated at 50,035*l.* A single acre is, at the present time, more valuable than were the whole 15,300 acres in the days of King James. Nor is this the only mode in which the landowners are benefited. Dr. Vaughan well remarks:—

‘ Every region that has become the home of such cities has become the home of an improved agriculture. This has resulted in part from the wealth of cities; but still more from their mechanical and scientific skill. In this manner it has been often reserved to cities to convert the desert into a garden, and to give to the richer soils of the earth the aspect of a paradise. The science extended to agriculture by the Babylonians and Egyptians, by the Carthaginians, and by the Moslems of Spain, was hardly less conspicuous than the wonders which adorned the capitals of their respective territories. The owners of land, accordingly, have always had a deep interest in the prosperity of cities; and when such persons begin to regard cities with jealousy, and become employed

in defaming them, in cramping their resources, and in endeavouring to reduce them to a state of weakness and passiveness, they become chargeable with the baseness of ingratitude, or with the madness of self-destruction. Lands which bring forth a hundred-fold in place of thirty-fold, they owe to the science of cities; and sales which give them a high price for their produce in place of a low one, they owe to the wealth of cities.'—pp. 108, 109.

It is melancholy to think that our landowners are thus 'chargeable with the baseness of ingratitude, and with the madness of self-destruction.' We have been anxious, therefore, to lay before our readers the considerations contained in this article, as we regard the struggle which now shakes the kingdom to its centre, as of no slight import. It is a struggle between feudalism and commerce—between the few, jealous for their privileges and their 'vested rights,' and the many, active, intelligent, and persevering—between mental thralldom and freedom of opinion. The Corn Law is an embodiment of the feudal principle; so also is Puseyism, now fast spreading in our Established Church, with which it is in perfect unison; and the recent attack upon our rights by the Education Bill had a similar origin. The supporters of 'the old' are throwing their entire influence and energies into the scale: it behoves, then, every friend to 'the new' course of society to be earnest and zealous. Our dearest rights, civil and religious, are at stake; and the fall of great cities, with the commerce which gave rise to them, would make the people once more the serfs and vassals of the nobles, and the slaves of the priesthood. But we have no such gloomy forebodings. Confident in the power of great cities, and of that enlightened public opinion, whose current is now flowing rapidly in favour of religious and civil equality, we look forward with full anticipations to a triumphant issue.

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### Brief Notices.

*Dominici Diodati, J. C. Neapolitani de Christo Græce loquente Exercitatio; qua ostenditur Græcam sive Hellenisticam linguam cum Judæis omnibus, tum ipsi adeo Christo Domino et Apostolis, nativam ac vernaculam fuisse.* Neapoli, MDCCLXVII. [*Greek the language of Christ; an Essay, in which it is shown that the Greek, or Hellenistic language, was native and vernacular as well to all the Jews as to our Lord Christ himself and the Apostles.* By Dominick Diodati. Naples, 1767.] Edited, with a preface, by Orlando T. Dobbin, LL. B., Trinity College, Dublin. London: J. Gladding.—pp. 24—187.

THE subject of this essay is sufficiently indicated by the title of which we have given a literal translation. The work appears to have excited

great interest at the time of its publication, but it has since become so scarce, that very few scholars in the present day know anything of it, except from the report of others; and Mr. Dobbin informs us that even the library of the British Museum does not contain a copy. Mr. Dobbin having the good fortune to become possessed of the book, rightly judged that he should perform an acceptable service by presenting it to the public in a cheap and convenient form, 'On the substantial truth of the hypothesis of the learned author,' Mr. Dobbin says, 'no less than on the extreme scarcity of his book, do we ground the justification of our reprint.' For our own part, we are content with the latter of these two grounds of justification, and we tender our sincere thanks to the Editor for having given us the opportunity of judging for ourselves of Diodati's scheme, a service which all who examine the book will acknowledge he has performed in a manner as creditable to his taste as to his scholarship. We cannot now enter into any lengthened dissertation respecting the substantial truth of Diodati's hypothesis; nor do we think the subject requires that we should. It is, we believe, generally admitted that the Greek language prevailed very extensively among the Jews in the time of our Lord, but few biblical critics in the present day would regard Diodati's position—that it was the *only* language spoken—as at all tenable. Though Mr. Dobbin maintains more strongly than we should be inclined to do the currency of the Greek as compared with the Aramaic, he does not fail to perceive that his author has carried his exclusive hypothesis too far, and we cannot but think that he does, after all, give up Diodati's main principle, when he admits that the Aramaic was spoken at all. We cordially recommend the work to the notice of Biblical scholars, and doubt not that they will thank Mr. Dobbin for thus enabling them to examine for themselves the most considerable work written on this side of the controversy.

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*Immortality: its Real and Alleged Evidences; being an Endeavour to ascertain how far the Future Existence of the Human Soul is discoverable by Reason.* By J. T. Gray, Ph. D. London: G. & J. Dyer.

This is a little book, comprising only about 30 pages of letter press, and very cheap; but it contains materials which a mere book-maker would have contrived to swell into a half-guinea volume. We can say of it—what reviewers cannot often say of the works they criticise—that we have read it repeatedly, and mean to read it again.

The treatises which the author has chiefly examined, in order to discover the testimony of reason on the question of the soul's immortality, are the *Phædo* of Plato, the *Tusculanæ Disputationes* of Cicero, and an *Essay on the Immateriality of the Soul*, by Samuel Drew. He has also brought into view the most popular arguments of Addison, Young, and Butler.

Some of his readers will probably be disposed to shrink from a few of his conclusions; but every competent reader will be highly gratified by the erudition of the work, and by its searching and acute logic. To all young preachers, and especially to those who may be too ready to



yield assent to the profound verbiage of Mr. Drew, or to the poetical rhetoric of Dr. Young, we strongly recommend a perusal of Dr. Gray's pamphlet. It has reached a second edition.

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*Letters on the Slave Trade, Slavery, and Emancipation; with a Reply to objections made to the Liberation of the Slaves in the Spanish Colonies; addressed to Friends on the Continent of Europe, during a Visit to Spain and Portugal.* By G. W. Alexander. London: Charles Gilpin.

Mr. Alexander is well known amongst abolitionists as one of the most zealous and energetic of their ranks. His official position as treasurer of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, necessarily brings him into constant connexion with whatever affects the welfare, or promises to advance the freedom of the African race, and he is known to limit his exertions within no official bounds, but on all occasions, in season and out of season, to labour with the simplicity and zeal of an apostle for the promotion of his cherished object. The little volume now before us, was written during a visit to the Peninsula in 1842, with a view of putting the Continental friends of emancipation into possession of the history of the case, and of awakening their zeal, to co-operate with the enemies of slavery in this country. The volume consists of eight letters, which give the History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, as also the Abolition of Slavery in some Foreign States—the Progress of the Anti-slavery Cause in England—the Results of Emancipation—the State of Foreign Slavery and the Slave Trade—the General Prospects of the Great Cause—and an Answer to Objections touching the Emancipation of the Spanish Slaves.

On all these topics copious information is supplied in a clear and simple style, while the spirit which pervades the letters is at once humane, enlightened, and fervent; partaking of the temper of Christianity and honourable to the profession of the author. We thank Mr. Alexander for this additional contribution to the cause of philanthropy, and trust that its circulation will be productive of all the benefits anticipated from its publication.

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*The Works of William Jay, collected and revised by himself. Vol. VII. Containing Sermons preached on various and particular occasions.* London: C. A. Bartlett.

In a characteristic preface to this volume—the only fault of which is its brevity—the estimable author meets the objections which he anticipates to the republication of sermons, originally printed singly, and some of them nearly half a century since. Few of our readers will need any such defence, as all the productions of Mr. Jay's pen are distinguished by qualities of permanent value, and will long be cherished as amongst the most useful works of modern times. There is a practical cast in his writings, an intimate knowledge of the human heart, and of the adaptation of religious truth to its necessities, a directness of aim, and a refreshing confidence in the fulness and adequacy of divine mercy to the

beneficent ends which it contemplates, that must always render them the welcome companion and instructive guides of religious readers.

The volume before us, constituting the seventh of his uniform works, contains fourteen sermons preached on various occasions, from the year 1801 to 1833, and will meet with a hearty reception from a large class of readers. Some of these sermons are already well known and highly prized, and we are glad that their author has been induced to give them to us in this collected and more permanent form. There are few men whose words are so full of the wisdom which cometh from above, and without proposing him as a model to our younger ministers, we should be glad to perceive in their pulpit labours proofs of their familiarity with the writings of so able a master.

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*Sea Sermons, or Plain Addresses intended for Public Worship on board of Merchant Vessels, and for Private Use among Seamen and Plain People.* By the Rev. Richard Marks. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1843.

Unpretending and simple addresses on various passages of Scripture, by one who has known the dangers and temptations of a seafaring life. Our seamen, notwithstanding recent efforts for their improvement, have still large claims on the sympathy and regard of British Christians. This volume is printed in good bold type, and is adapted in many respects to accomplish its design. The sermons are twenty-four in number, and on many of the principal and most important topics of revealed truth. Twenty-four forms of prayer for the use of seamen are appended to them.

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*Memoirs of the Life, Ministry, and Character of the Rev. Wm. Jones, late Wesleyan Minister; with Sketches of his Sermons.* By the Rev. Richard Rymer. London: Simpkin & Marshall. 1842.

We doubt not that there may be many excellent persons who will peruse this book with profit and pleasure. For ourselves, we thought there was a propriety in placing on the title page the words of Dr. Johnson, 'I have often thought that there has rarely passed a life of which a judicious and faithful narrative would not be useful.' The subject of this narrative seems to have been a pious and laborious minister of the gospel in connexion with the Wesleyan body. We cannot help thinking that his memoir might have appeared in the pages of some periodical rather than presented itself as a separate volume. It is, for the most part, an autobiography, Mr. Jones being, as we learn from the preface, a very copious writer. His manuscripts consisted of 'a short memoir of the first fifty-five years of his life, a diary and copies of letters, memorandums, eleven volumes of sermons, and sketches of sermons, two folio volumes on various subjects, and a large quantity of original poetry.'

We thank the compiler for his judgment in compressing within so narrow a compass his selections from such copious materials.

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*Elements of Universal History, on a New and Systematic Plan, from the Earliest Times to the Treaty of Vienna, for the use of Schools and Private Students.* By H. White, A. B. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.

A highly useful manual of history. The compiler employs an arrangement of historical facts according to centuries, which seems to us simple and adapted, by bringing together events occurring in intimate relation to each other, to furnish materials for studying, that which Guizot and others have so eloquently and ably expounded, the philosophy of history. Readers will find, it is true, in the volume generally a bare outline of facts, exclusive of remark concerning them, or exposition of principles, but inasmuch as the design was to provide a portable school book, these could scarcely be expected. The book contains, in a clear and accessible form, the substance of many volumes, and the judgment of the author appears equally in its omissions and contents. We live in an age when, for practical purposes, the study of the past is of the utmost importance towards the right interpretation of the present, and shall be glad if the diligent use of works such as this prepares the minds of the young, by furnishing them with the knowledge of facts, for comprehending those general laws and earnest thoughts of which historical events form only the illustration and expression.

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## Literary Intelligence.

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### *In the Press.*

Mr. Howitt is preparing a new volume of his *Visits to Remarkable Places*. It will comprise visits to the birthplaces and tombs of the celebrated English poets, and will be illustrated similarly to the preceding volumes.

### *Just Published.*

*On the Atonement of Christ, considered in Relation to its Extent, comprehending, with General Remarks, a Brief Examination of certain Statements in the Evangelical Magazine.* By John Pethesick.

*A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the United Dioceses of Ossary Ferns and Leighlin, at his Primary Visitation in September, 1842.* By James Thomas O'Brien, Bishop of Ossary Ferns and Leighlin.

*The History of Literature; or the Rise and Progress of Language, Writing, and Letters, from the Earliest Ages of Antiquity to the Present Time.* Vol. I. By Sir William Boyd, A.M., M.D.

*Thoughts on Thomas Carlyle; or a Commentary on the Past and Present.* By R. B. E.

*A Historico Geographical Account of Palestine in the Time of Christ; or the Bible Student's Help to a thorough Knowledge of Scripture.* By Dr.



John Fred. Röhr. Translated by the Rev. D. Esdaile. (Biblical Cabinet, No. 43.)

The Student's Cabinet Library of Useful Tracts—Philosophical Series—Murdock's Sketches of Modern Philosophy.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare—William Shakspeare. A Biography. part 9.

Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal, with Extracts from his Writings, and from Dispatches in the State Paper Office never before published. By John Smith, Esq. 2 vols.

The Empire of the Czar; or Observations on the Social, Political, and Religious State and Prospects of Russia, made during a Journey through that Empire. By the Marquis de Castine. Translated from the French. 3 vols.

Fifty Sermons delivered by the Rev. Robert Hall, M.A., chiefly during the last Five Years of his Ministry. From Notes taken at the Time of their Delivery. By the Rev. Thomas Grinfield, M.A. Second edition.

First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, including an Examination of Several Recent Expositions and of the Year-Day Theory. By the Rev. F. R. Birks.

The French School, Part I, *Le Echo de Paris*; a Selection of Familiar Phrases, with Vocabulary. By M. Lepage.

Immanuel; or God with us: a Series of Lectures on the Divinity and Humanity of our Lord, &c. By Richard Bingham, Jun., M.A.

The System of Late Hours in Business: its Evils, its Causes, and its Cure. By Arthur J. King.

Letters from Madras during the years 1836—1839. By a Lady.

The Teacher's Companion; designed to exhibit the Principles of Sunday School Instruction and Discipline. By R. N. Collins.

Helps to English Grammar; or Easy Exercises for Young Children. By G. F. Graham.

Piety the Best Patriotism: a Sermon occasioned by the Decease of the late Thomas Wilson, Esq., preached at Craven Chapel by J. Leifchild, D.D.

Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. By John Kitto. Part V.

The Philosophy of Training; with Suggestions on the Necessity of Normal Schools, for Teachers to the Wealthier Classes. By A. R. Craig.

Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the New Testament. By Albert Barnes. Vol. V. 1 Corinthians.

The President's Daughters, including Nina. By Frederika Bremer. Translated by Mary Howitt. Part I. 3 vols.

Lectures on Tractarian Theology. By John Stoughton.

A Charge delivered at the Ordinary Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Chichester, in July, 1843. By Henry Edward Manning, M.A., Archdeacon of Chichester.

Bicentenary of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, held at Edinburgh 12th and 13th of July, 1843; containing a Full and Authentic Report of the Addresses and Conversations, with Introductory Sermons by the Rev. Dr. Lymington.

Inaugural Lecture, written for the Opening of the British and Foreign Institute, and delivered August 2, 1843, at the Hanover Square Rooms.

A Plea for Liberty of Education: a Second Letter to Sir James Graham, Bart., on the Educational Clauses of the Factories Bill. By John Howard Hinton, M.A.

A Letter to the Bishops of the Church of England on the Necessity of Liturgical Adjustment, arising from the Principles and Practice of the School of Tractarian Theology.